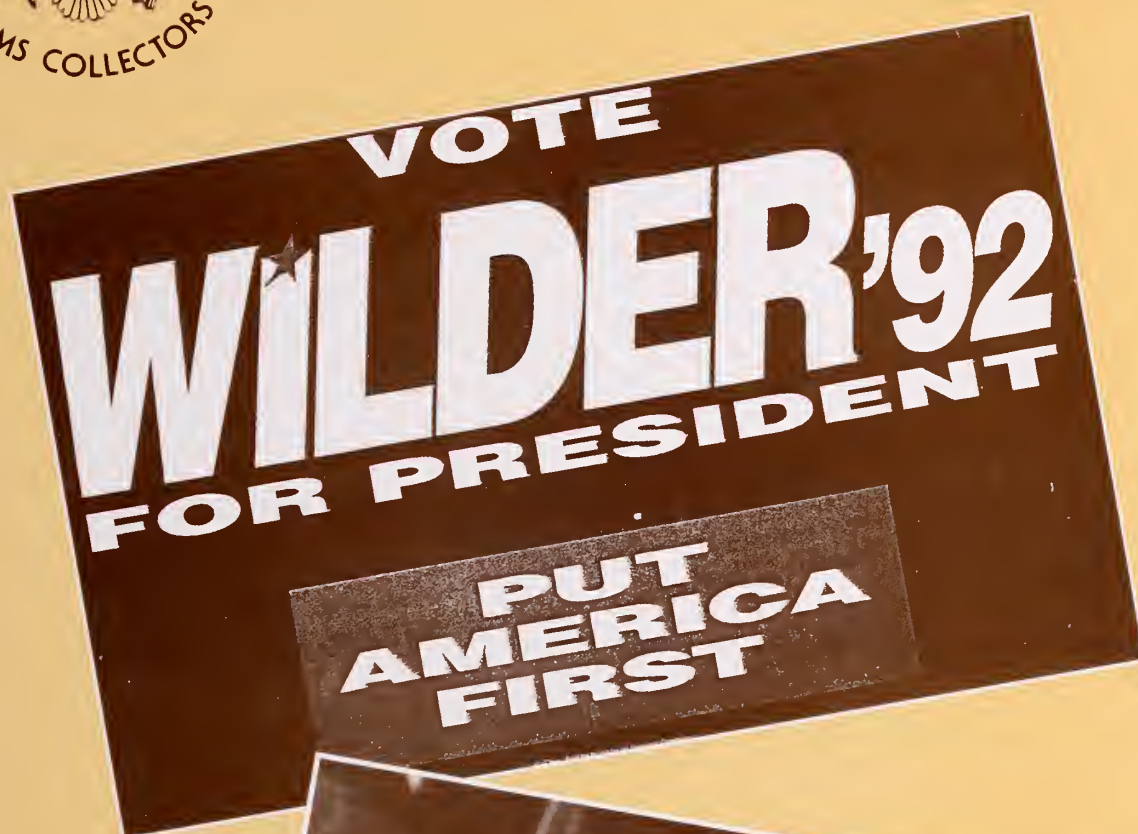




THE KEYNOTER



Doug Wilder for President

Senator Harry Byrd • Congressman Virgil Goode

New Equality Buttons • Oscar De Priest and President Hoover

Editor's Message

One of the great aspects of democracy is its ability to respond to the concerns of the people. It responds slowly and often clumsily, but that is more a result of the complexity of issues rather than an unwillingness to serve the public interest. The voice of the people is rarely expressed in clear, unambiguous terms. It usually takes the form of a dialogue among many voices.

The APIC is a democratic (small "d", of course) organization. The last year has seen a dialogue among many voices. Part of that dialogue has been about *The Keynoter* and other APIC publications. President Chris Hearn has asked a group of APIC members to serve as a Publications Committee. Part of the committee's mission is reviewing *The Keynoter* to see if it can become even more successful in meeting the needs of the members.

The committee consists of myself, Harvey Goldberg, Steve Baxley, Stephen Cresswell, Al Salter, David Frent, Phil Ross, Barry Adler, Ed Sullivan and Bob Fratkin. These are familiar names to readers, as they have made major contributions to the hobby in general and *The Keynoter* in particular.

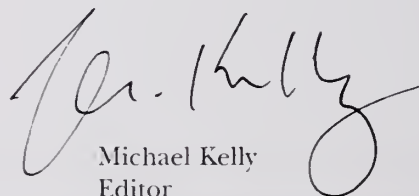
With their help, I look forward to the future of this magazine. One of the first changes is the return of a feature from the early days of this publication when Chick Harris was editor: a regular feature of representative items from the candidates of a particular election. The Republican and Democrat were there, of course, but so were the important minor parties. We hope to show not just representative examples but examples of particular interest. We start next issue with the campaign of 1924.

The current issue has some interesting features, including Richard Rector interviews with presidential hopeful Doug Wilder and collector/congressman Virgil Goode. After the latter article was set to type, Rep. Goode added a page to the history of Virginia politics by bolting from the Democrats to become an Independent. The article about Senator Harry Byrd fills in some of the background that gives an historical perspective to Rep. Goode's action. Rector (APIC #7739) will continue his series of interviews of presidential hopefuls in future issues. A collector since 1972, he served as a delegate to the 1992 Democratic National Convention and holds a BA in Public Administration from the University of Central Florida.

Historical perspective sums up the special role of *The Keynoter*. This publication serves the educational mission of the APIC (something which, one should note, is essential to our non-profit status). This magazine cannot be a list of auction results and values. It must serve the role of providing the historical perspective on those items – new and old – that we admire. That is why *The Keynoter* must always be different than other publications in the field that fill other roles.

I'd like to give a special personal thanks to Dr. Timothy G. Walch, director of the Hoover Presidential Library in Iowa. Tim is a good friend from college days and last year I finally had a chance to visit him at the Hoover home site and library in West Branch, Iowa. I'm sure any *Keynoter* reader would enjoy a visit to the facility.

One of the many Hoover-related stories that came up during our conversation was the Oscar De Priest tea described on page 28. I thank Tim for that information and for a lifetime of historical preservation and education. I still have that little blue "Tim" button from Montana Gov. Tim Babcock's 1964 senatorial campaign, which I got for Tim Walch 25 years ago. I'll get it in the mail to him soon. I promise. Honest.



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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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THE APIC KEYNOTER

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FEATURES:

Doug Wilder for President	Page 4
Governor P.B.S. Pinchback	Page 14
Bill Lucas for Governor	Page 15
A Small Impeachment Drama	Page 16
Congressman Virgil Goode	Page 17
Harry Byrd for President	Page 22
Two New Equality Buttons	Page 26
Oscar De Priest and Herbert Hoover	Page 28

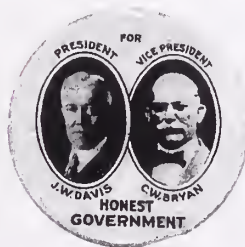
DEPARTMENTS:

1999 APIC Intern's Report	Page 32
Book Review: <i>Dutch</i> by Edmund Morris	Page 34
APIC Financial Report	Page 35

Illustrations: The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Stephen Ackerman, Terry Ashe, Elizabeth Eckstein, Roger Fischer, John Foster, John Gingerich, Congressman Virgil Goode, Theodore Hake, Hoover Presidential Library, George Phillippy, Richard Rector, Smithsonian Institution, Timothy Walch, and White House Photo Office.

Covers: Front: A 1992 RWB campaign poster and a photograph of Gov. Wilder's inauguration (note that Gov. Wilder is being sworn in by Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell, who had been head of the Richmond School Board during the period of massive resistance to desegregation). **Back:** An 1896 full color cover from *Puck* magazine boosting the Gold Democratic ticket of Palmer and Buckner.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE



The Keynoter brings back a favorite feature: a summary of the 1924 election with representative items from each candidate, including minor parties. Other features include an interview with APIC member and Clinton Impeachment Manager Congressman James Rogan; some newly discovered James Cox items and a variety of previously unknown items showing up on the Internet.

“I’m Just Wild About Wilder”

Governor Doug Wilder of Virginia for President



(A Keynoter interview by Richard Rector)

Lawrence Douglas Wilder was born in the City of Richmond Virginia on January 17, 1931. He was educated in the segregated public schools of that city, going on to earn his Chemistry Degree from Virginia Union University in 1951. Today, VUU is home of the L. Douglas Wilder Library.

Drafted into the Army in 1952, he fought in the Korean War. In Korea he achieved the rank of Sergeant and earned the Bronze Star. Returning from war, he got his law degree from Howard University and set up practice in his hometown of Richmond.

The election of J. Sargent Reynolds as Virginia's Lt. Governor in 1969 set up a special election for Reynolds' State Senate seat. Wilder threw his hat in the ring, opposed by Richmond Mayor Morrill M. Crowe and former Lt. Governor Fred Pollard. Wilder was easily elected and, though he served for 17 years in the state senate, never had opposition for re-election again.

In 1985, State Senator Wilder declared as a candidate for Lieutenant Governor, winning a contest for the Democratic nomination and a hard-fought general election race. That victory was the first statewide electoral victory for an African-American in the old Confederate states since Reconstruction. Four years later, Wilder won a narrow victory to become the first African-American elected governor in the history of the nation. He ran for president in 1992 as part of a crowded field that eventually did produce a Southern governor as president. But it was Bill Clinton, not Doug Wilder.

A personal comment from the interviewer: It is every interviewer's worst nightmare to do a great interview with some VIP and then find when it's over that - due to a technical glitch - the tape recorder has a blank tape. That is what happened with this interview the first time. Fortunately Governor Wilder was kind enough to do it a second time. I owe a special debt of thanks to Governor Wilder. I doubt that many other dignitaries would have shown such understanding.

One last note: "I'm Just Wild About Wilder" was a real campaign slogan, used by L. Douglas Wilder in various races.

Keynoter: Why did you seek the Presidency?

Wilder: Well, I was convinced that the domestic agenda of America was not being attended to and there was no indication from anyone that it would be; particularly from those persons associated with maintaining the status quo or doing what they were doing in Washington. I thought that George Bush had an excellent opportunity to expand ability capital, in terms of the amount of approval rating he had following the Gulf War. But he chose not to. Not just on matters of fiscal needs but to atone for what America's needs were: improving our inner cities, making definite commitments for our young people and meaning something when you said that education would be a priority. I saw the ravages of the S&L debacle, which we are still feeling some affects from now, and there was no redressment or addressment of that.

I felt that the person to be elected, if Bush was not going to be reelected, would not be an insider, so to speak. So it would have to have been someone who would not be identified with Washington. I thought that it would require some bold and rather imaginable things to be set forth and fiscal responsibility being chief among them as it relates to domestic spending. I thought I had the record to do it. I thought I would have an opportunity to present that case.

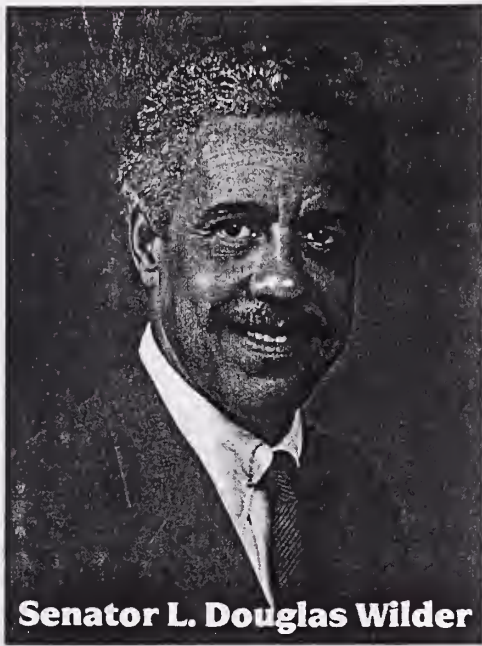
Keynoter: There was talk at the time that the reason that Jesse Jackson did not enter the race in 1992 was because of your candidacy. Is there anything to that?

Wilder: Well, I don't know. I've never talked with him about it. I know that he was not too happy with me being in the race and said that to a lot of people. I never considered my running to be antithetical to what he was doing, or what he would be doing.

It may have been because I had a proven record of electability, the state of the state when we were elected, [being named] best managed state two years in a row by *Financial World Magazine*, and others had done the same thing; Cato Institute, *City and State*. So I don't know. I never discussed it with him.



Bumper sticker from Wilder's successful 1989 race for Governor of Virginia



Senator L. Douglas Wilder

From Korea to Richmond

He's Still Fighting For

Virginia

Brochure from one of Wilder's campaigns for state senator.

Keynoter: You made trips into Iowa, New Hampshire and the other early primary states. How were you received?

Wilder: Very well. I was impressed with one thing; people don't give you a quick answer in either of those states. They like to be courted. They like to be seen more than once. I don't mean just your presence in the state. But they want to see you. They want to talk with you. I learned a lot from going to those states.

But I came away from the presidential race (the three months that I was in it) recognizing how shortchanged the rest of Americans are who don't have those opportunities to meet with the candidates and to talk with them and to have first hand experience. For the rest of America it's celluloid, it's television, it's soundbites, it's spend. I think it's unfair, I really do. On the other hand, the nature of the beast requires that you dance with who bring you. (laughs)

I was very impressed with Iowa. I never was really concerned with what the polls were showing, particularly in New Hampshire, because I hadn't had the chance to really get in and stay and deal. I know what my message was and there were very few people who had any disagreements with what my message was.

Keynoter: You used the slogan "Put America First," which was also used by Pat Buchanan. I'm sure you had a different reason for using it. What was your reason?

Wilder: My reason was that we need not believe that we have got it so well made here that we can afford to concentrate totally abroad. I certainly don't mean building a wall along the Mexican border like Pat Buchanan and others have advocated, nor do I believe that we need to have a modern interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. But I do believe that unless we [address] the revitalization of our cities, a handle on urban transportation, and an understanding that

there is no retreat in America, there's no place that you can run and hide. We are seeing the effects of what took place with drugs.

We are seeing what happened with AIDS, and people were saying "Well, that's a homosexual disease," only relating to homosexuals. Now we are seeing little children, senior citizens, Arthur Ashe (a very close and dear friend of mine) but obviously a blood transfusion caused it. So my concerns were that we needed to address the problems in America like AIDS.

Put the commitment of the nation to what can help solve a dilemma, as it relates to decimating, in many instances, some of the neighborhoods and some of the communities. Get a real handle on welfare reform but also have incentives and encourage people to work. Provide jobs and training.

I still think we need to put a bit more time into what I call the prevention of crime and encouraging youngsters to go to school, [and] stay in school. Provide jobs for them when they have finished school, to make certain that they understand that money is not the key to the so-called "American Dream." The opportunity to make that degree of money should be open to all.

But we have become so materialistic in our bent, in our thinking, that we leave many youngsters terribly disillusioned. We don't provide role models for them. We see preachers going to jail, teachers being arrested for taking undue liberties with the youngsters, parents doing the same thing. Police officers convicted, judges, lawyers, politicians. No one is sacrosanct. So it is very difficult to say, "If we could just go back to the good old days." What "good old days?" We've never really had the commitment to really solve these problems that are America's problems.

So what I was saying is that we need to first outline what America's problems are and start defining them. That's why we need to say, "Charity begins at home." I believe in help-

ing whoever needs to be helped across the board, across the global board, but by the same token we can't be measured just by how mighty we are in nuclear arms and our armaments because it is a cyclical thing. These things pass.

Keynoter: You participated in the first two of the nationally televised Democratic presidential candidate debates in 1992. How do you feel about your performance in those debates?

Wilder: Well, I liked the one in New Hampshire with Hal Bruno. I liked it. I liked the format; it's different in terms of having the time that you need to express yourself. I didn't like the one that we had in Washington. There were too many of us there, the questions were not as crisp, issue oriented, attention-grabbing as the public would like. The first question as I recall was something about the gold standard. I just couldn't understand it; I had not seen the first thing relating to its importance in years. I know we have people every now and then talking about a revision or whatever we need to do. But it wasn't around here in Virginia and I didn't know about it too many other places. We spent an inordinate amount of time doing that.

That was the debate in which Jerry Brown held up his cards giving his toll free number. I just wish that I had been innovative enough to do it. He defended it by saying, "I have a constitutional right" and would not remove it when Tom Brokaw told him to take it down. He said "No, I'm not going to do it, I'm going to do it again" and did it again.

But I thought overall the reception was good but I still have people today who get after me for not continuing running. There are still people today that say that they would like to see me do it again. But I tell them that there is no chance that I will ever seek another elected office.

Keynoter: You entered the race on September 13, 1991 and dropped out on January 8, 1992 less than four months later. Why did you withdrawal so early

Wilder: Because of the pressure at home. I was of the impression – mistakenly I see now since Cuomo was considering it and Clinton was already out there – that governors would be the persons that would have the latitude of opportunity.

But Virginians took it differently. Being a one-term governor and being that I had said that we had tough times and [having] painted such a good picture (cause it took a good



Above: an amateur Doug Wilder for the U.S. Senate button from 1982. Below: a political cartoon from that year, showing Wilder as the political kingmaker with Democratic Party leaders Alan Diamondstein, Charles Robb, Owen Pickett, Alson Smith and Jay Shropshire seeking his approval. During the Keynoter interview, Wilder described it thus: "Diamondstein, the chairman of the party, Robb (then Governor) behind, Pickett was the guy who was running, Smith was the chairman of the Democratic Caucus, Shropshire was the clerk of the senate. It's interesting isn't it? (laughs). It pretty well describes it though."



year to get the public to really feel the seriousness of the recession), they were saying, "Look you need to spend all of your time here."

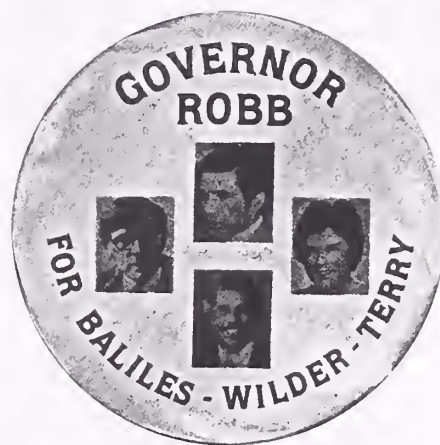
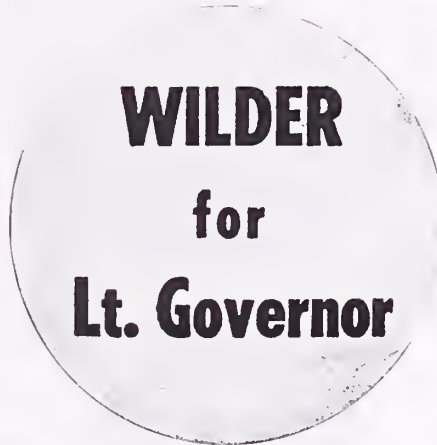
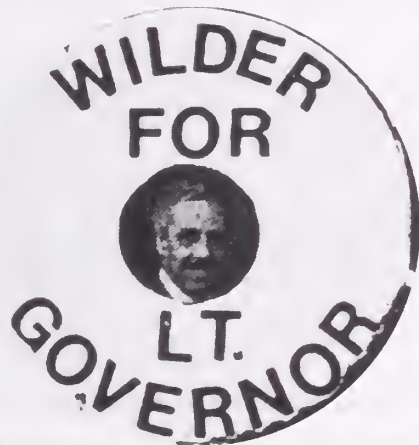
I was thinking that I could do it on weekends, some evening running different places. To run for the presidency is a full time job. You cannot do it piecemeal or part time. I had no intention of not being governor, so the decision was easy.

One of the things I'm thankful for: I never raised any money. I never really tried. I raised matching funds money, but I never held any fundraisers. I gave back people's checks. I said "Hold up. Wait until such time as I formally tie it up and we will do it at a fundraiser, etc." So I don't feel I let anybody down in that regard, in terms of lack of money. On the other hand, to do it like I should have done it would have required me to stop and raise money.

If you thought it was tough then, look at what it's like now. You can be competitive without the kind of money that these people spend. I think campaigns are like anything else, it's like Murphy's Law: It will spend what you let it spend. It will do what you let it do. I was not going to do that but I would have been very competitive with money.

Keynoter: If you had stayed in the race. How well do you think you would have done?

Wilder: Well, first of all, I would not have gotten into it if I didn't think I had a chance of winning. If I had stayed in, I think I would have had a chance of winning. I'm not unaware of the fact that as far as minority candidates are concerned, many people feel that there ought to be an entry level before you are considered at the higher levels. That's been so in state government and I am aware that it may have been the same at the national level. I may have

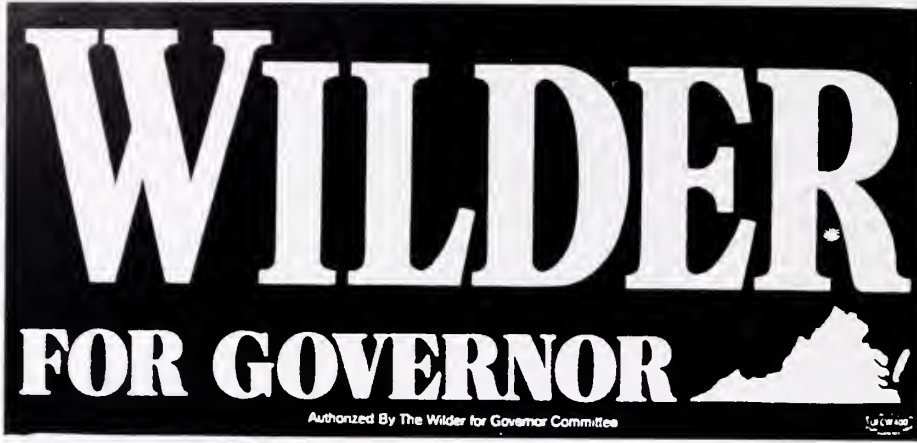


Wilder

FOR LT. GOVERNOR '85

By Authority of Senator E.M. Hollond, Treasurer, Wilder for Lt. Governor Committee

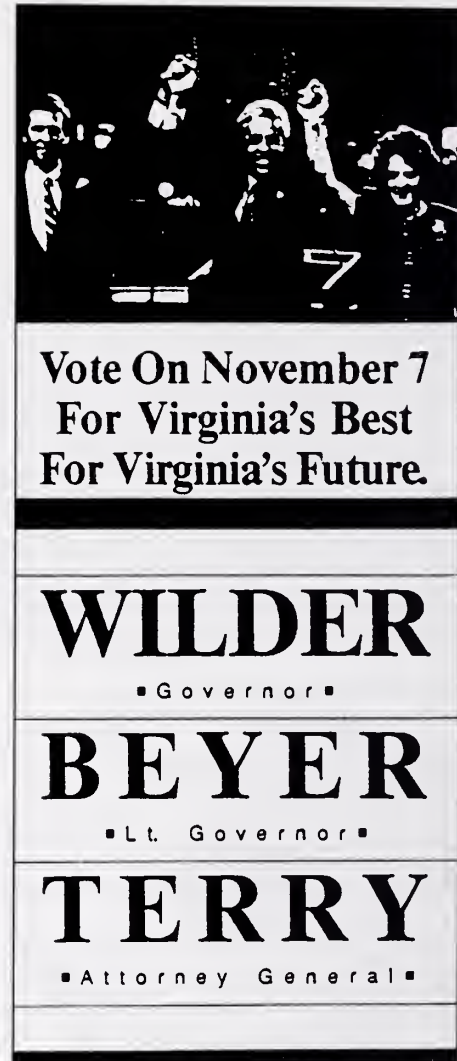
In 1985, Doug Wilder won the post of Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, becoming the first African American to win statewide office in the old Confederacy since Reconstruction.



**WILDER
BEYER
TERRY**



In 1989, Wilder was elected Governor of Virginia and took control of the state house in the same city that had served as capitol of the Confederacy during the Civil War.





been strongly considered for Vice President had I run a credible campaign for President.

Keynoter: James Carville has the theory that had you remained in the race that Bill Clinton would not have become president. What's your opinion?

Wilder: He's told me that. He said to me that they were ecstatic about my not running further...I somewhat understand. We were both southern governors. We were not identified with being insiders or Washingtonians. I think that I would have had an attraction to minorities and to certain groups that would have been permanent. They would not have been fair weather. To the extent that that's divided up, I think Clinton was perhaps the most direct incidental beneficiary.

Keynoter: I was a delegate to the 1992 Democratic National Convention. One of the stories that circulated at the convention was that you were about to be named as Ross Perot's running mate. Did you have any contact with Perot?

Wilder: I did not speak personally with Perot. My staff people and his staff people communicated and talked. I'll have more to say about it at the time when I do write my memoirs.

Keynoter: How would a Wilder Presidency have differed from the Clinton Presidency?

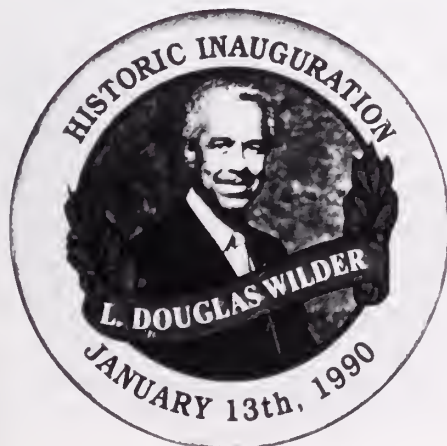
Wilder: I would have started off with some of the things I talked about in my campaign. I think Clinton's Administration got off on the wrong foot on two things. The health care issue; I would not have handled it like that at all. I would have brought all the players together, sat down and first determined what we could save and how we could save it. And say "let's put that on the table" and find ways to divide it up appropriately. I would have asked for how much agreement I could get from these people before I'd seek legislation. Then I'd get legislation on that. The Clinton Presidency never even shared the facts with any one. They wouldn't share them with the business people who they were calling upon to come and sign on to their health care plan. Nor did they share with the governors. We met with the president and he said that he was going to get the materials to us later through Ira Magaziner. That was a bomber.

The gays in the military thing was another bomber, which gave everyone the impression that the first two things that the president signed on to were failures. So he really gave the Republicans a boost during that period of time. I would have handled all of that differently. But maybe even had some other things up front like education (to the extent that the feds are involved in education) or the revitalization of our cities and economic development.

Keynoter: In 1969 you were elected to the state senate. 1969 was an eventful year in Virginia. It was the year that the Byrd Machine crumbled and the year that the Republican Party elected their first Governor since reconstruction. Did all of this affect your election?

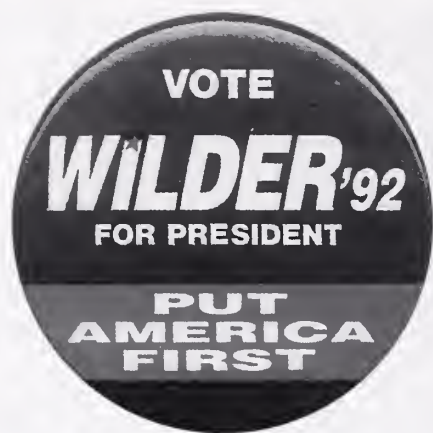
Wilder: I think it was more affected by what took place in Virginia five years before that, when Lyndon Johnson carried Virginia, which was the first time that had happened since 1948 with Harry Truman as a Democrat carrying Virginia. A lot of things went into that mix though because there was more registration. The Voting Rights Act had done a lot to cause Johnson to be successful.

What went into my success? I don't think the Byrd machine crumbled as such because of the election of Holton, the first Republican governor of this century. But I think it crumbled because of the players... the people were still in place. They were still in office in a lot of places. But in terms of deliverance, they couldn't deliver anymore because of the inclusion of more people in the electoral process. More people representative of what should be on committees and positions of influence, office holders, at the



VIRGINIA
DEMOCRATS
ARE
WILDER
PEOPLE!





A relative rarity in modern politics: an official campaign button issued by the campaign headquarters. Most buttons these days are issued by commercial vendors.

state level and the local levels, which was maximized in the early seventies. That's when I formed the Democratic Black Caucus of Virginia. Not of legislative members, because there were not but two or three of us at that time. But of people who felt they wanted a say, and they exerted their influence. I think it was a crescendo, it was coming. It started coming after that massive turnout of people to defeat Barry Goldwater, who many people felt was going to carry the country back. And I think that I came in on a tidal wave of movement upward. So '69 was a good time in America, not withstanding the Democratic Convention in Chicago the year before and not withstanding some of the things that many people would disagree with. But it was clearly a time when it was felt that everybody should have an opportunity to participate and I benefited from that.

Keynoter: What were the major accomplishments of your years in the state senate?

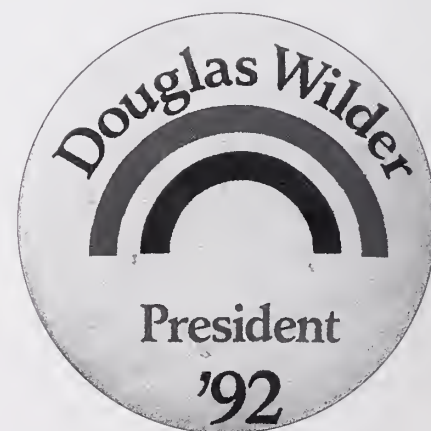
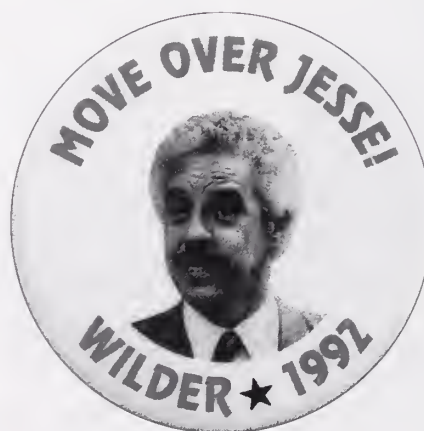
Wilder: Compulsory school attendance laws were put back on the books. They had been taken off during massive resistance. Eight years it took me to get a holiday for Martin Luther King, Jr. I finally got it. I would get it passed in the

senate and the house would kill it. Pass in the senate and the house committee would kill it. Pass in both houses and the governor would kill it. So it had two vetoes by two governors. I thought that was good. I was able to get sickle cell anemia victims classified under the state health program. We were able to get a fair housing law passed making Virginia one of the first states in the country to have that. I was able to get a drug paraphernalia bill passed which enabled us to be one of the few states that had punishment for drug paraphernalia as well as the drugs themselves. We did a lot of things in telecommunications, making Virginia one of the states that saw the need to move forward on that and then transportation, improving the port. I chaired a lot of the committees that helped to reorganize the Virginia Port Authority and bring it into what we considered one of the best operated in the country.

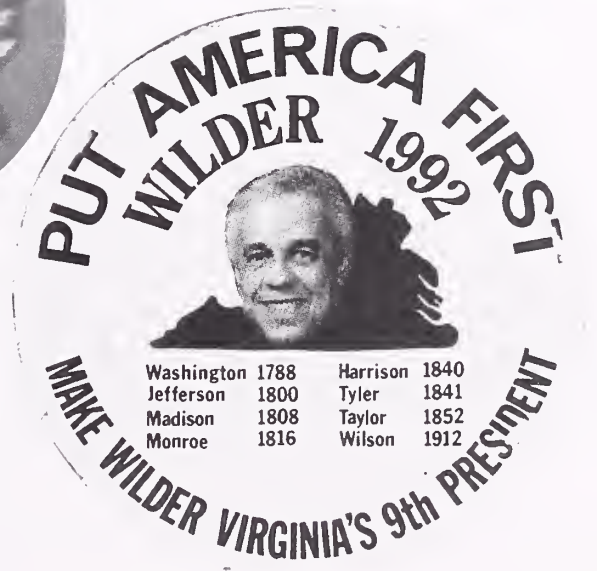
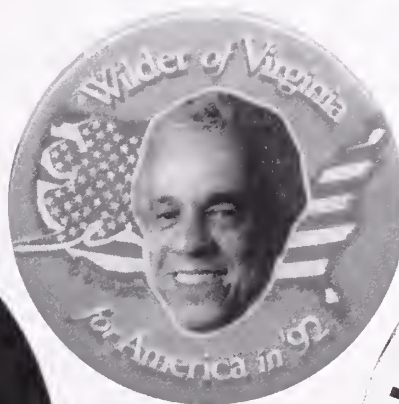
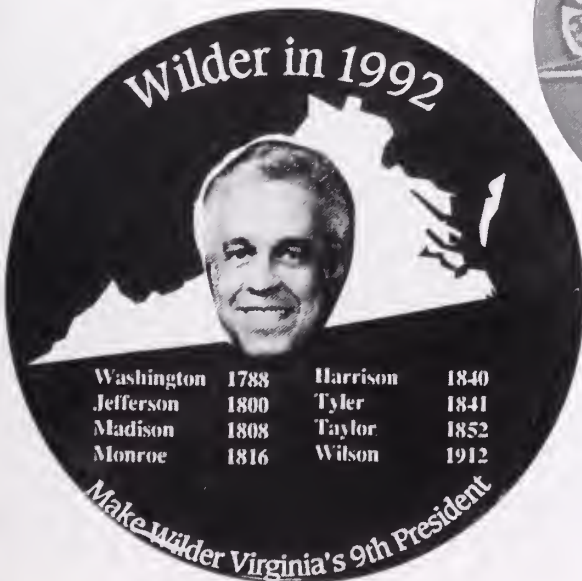
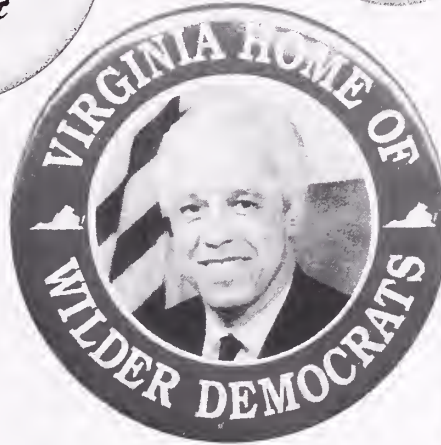
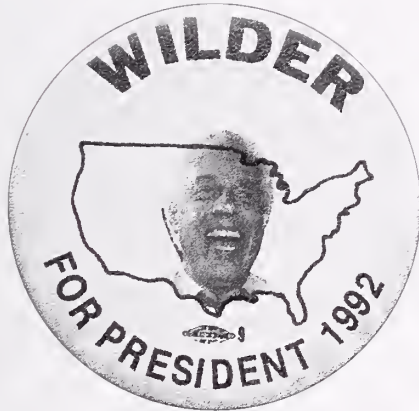
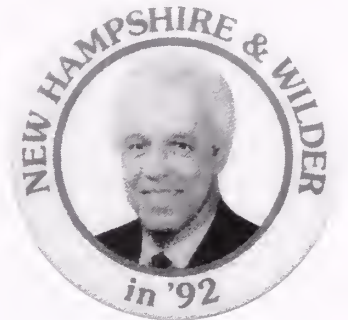
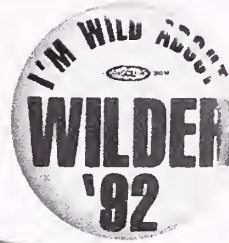
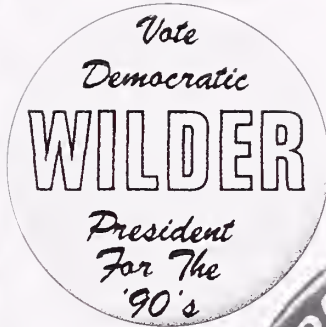
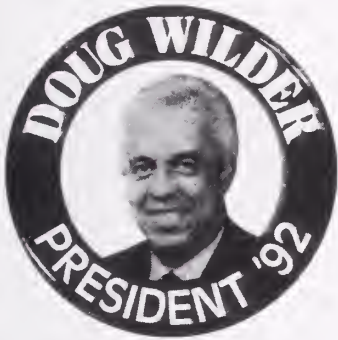
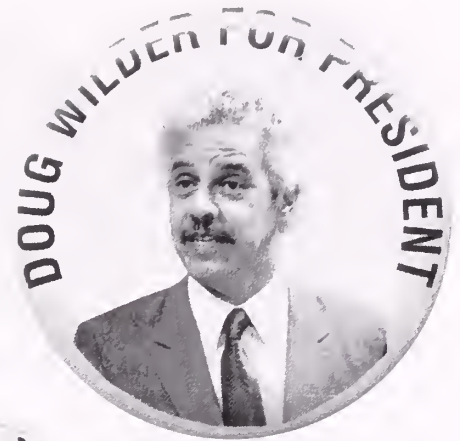
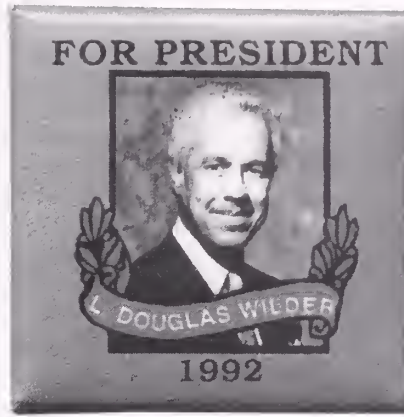
Keynoter: In 1982 you considered a bid for the US Senate. Can you tell us about that?

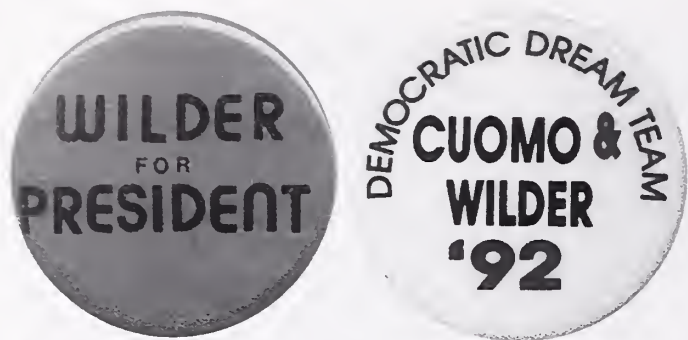
Wilder: Yes, there was a man [Owen Pickett, now a congressman] who was going to run to take Harry Byrd, Jr.'s place. He said that he wanted to run and after we had somewhat tentatively agreed that he would be the choice – without knowing a thing in the world about what he was going to say or do – in his announcement speech, he said that he wanted to go to Washington and represent Virginia just like Harry Byrd did. My phone started ringing off the hook from people saying, "We can't support this man. We've got to do something...you're the only logical person to run." I said, "Oh, my goodness, that will be the end of my political career." Because I would be running as an Independent. Well, it went on and on and on. I felt strongly about it. I talked with him [Pickett] and I told him. I told Robb, "If he runs, I'll run" Well, Pickett decided that he would not run. I said to Robb I would not run and that was it. I did pay a price, but I never considered it to be a bond that you don't expect to pay.

Keynoter: In 1985 you were elected Lt. Governor. Becoming the first African-American in modern times elected to statewide office in the south. Can you tell us about that campaign?



Rep. Shirley Chisolm (D-NY) was the first African American to seek the presidential nomination of a major party in 1972. In 1984 and 1988 Rev. Jesse Jackson ran a spirited race for the Democratic nod, coming in third place in 1984 and second place in 1988. he was unable to capitalize on his strong showing, however, because Democratic leaders knew the party would get black votes in November with or without Jackson on the ticket.





Wilder's 1992 presidential campaign was brief but historically significant.

Wilder: I was told by the party that I shouldn't run. A committee called upon me represented by a man who was a friend of mine, he said. They had a meeting in the Speaker's office [with] Diamondstein, the chairman of the party, presiding over the meeting. Robb's press secretary said that he doubted that I could win because this was still Virginia. I said to Robb "Hey, please. I'm not asking for you guys to do anything for me. But don't let your guy keep saying that because, if he does, it hurts." He said, "Well, he's speaking for himself." I said "Well, he doesn't have any voice, your press secretary speaks for you. No one cares what he says personally, just tell him to be quiet and keep him quiet. So you won't be the person that people are saying is putting this out."

So I did a rather unorthodox thing by taking off time and traveling the state and going into every city and every county and meeting the people. And I tell you there's nothing like it. That won for me. It won to the extent that people met me, knew me, saw me and didn't feel threatened. [They] had not been asked to vote for a person of color before because no one had run. Many of the leadership had been sort of absent when I went to their towns. They would not be there, but many were there.

Some came to understand that I might run and win. But they were saying earlier that I would not only lose but that I would bring the ticket down and cause the others to lose, that likewise I would bring the Democratic control of the legislature down. That would be gone. I didn't believe any of that.

I enjoyed the campaign. It's tough work but that's the only way to do it. I did something by carrying 44% of the white vote which for a Democrat in Virginia, that's big numbers. Robb when he ran for governor only got 46% of the white vote. When I ran for governor I got 41% of the white vote, which was still good. My Lt. Governor Don Beyer and Mary Sue Terry [Attorney General] didn't get anything like that in the white community. So it wasn't just a racial thing, it's an appeal thing.

That campaign enabled me to recognize that I could run for governor. If I had the time, if I could commit the time, I could run for president across this country. But it takes time, that goes back to another reason that I was convinced that I couldn't stay in the presidential race. Because I knew what it took in the other races that I was in to win. If you're not in it to win then you shouldn't be in it at all. I've only run in any campaigns to win.

Keynoter: What were the major accomplishments of your term as Lt. Governor?

Wilder: Well, as you know it's a vacuous position for the most part. I described it as such in 1977. You vote in cases of a tie; you preside over the senate. But I was able to get what I consider something that people at the time weren't paying much attention to, the weapons background check by state police, before you can buy weapons or firearms. It's still in place and Virginia is exempted from the Brady bill because we already had it in our law.

That and I was able to... I think restore... I don't know if it's still like this or not, but the position of Lt. Governor is to preside over the senate, not to do what someone tells you. I presided and I had been there long enough to know how to do it. What to do, who were the players, who were not the players. But the main accomplishment legislatively was the weapons background check.

Keynoter: In 1989 you were elected governor. Can you tell us about that?

Wilder: Well, that's another of those things when people were saying "Oh, my goodness here we go again". You can stay Lt. Governor forever and people will love you. But I saw no reason why I should defer and I repeated my trip around the state. I likewise had benefited somewhat by knowing more people around the state.

I did something that people said was crazy and I was advised not to do it. I made abortion the lynch pin of my campaign. I took the Jeffersonian position on it. That government has no right to interfere in the most personal of personal decisions. It doesn't mean that you are for or against. It means that it's an individual decision that's left for the most part to a woman, her conscience, her counsel and her family.

I was again considered a long shot. In '85 for the Lt. Governor's race, Larry Sabato said that all my opponent had to do was to be alive on Election Day and he would win. (laughs) He's subsequently eaten the proverbial crow on it and we have become very good friends.

Keynoter: The only other African-American governor was P.B.S. Pinchback, who served as acting governor of Louisiana for 35 days in 1872-73 [see page 14]. As the country's first elected African-American governor, you were the focus of a lot of media attention. What was that like?

Wilder: Well, it was somewhat expected. As Truman said, "If you can't stand the heat, you should get out of the kitchen" I didn't mind it. I didn't seek it, it was more than I wanted. (chuckle) The scrutiny was unbearable in many instances. But the thing that bothers me more than anything else is that we have not moved past that. I'm still referred to as the first and only elected African-American governor.

We are having a seminar this year starting in the fall. It will be a two-day colloquy (culminating in a roast) in which we bring people in to go into the issues. Ten years. That was ten years ago. People forget. Ten years and not a single state has even nominated anyone from either party to be governor since that time. Not a single state and there are reasons for it and they are not all racial. We are going to go into it, develop it [with] a cross section of people from academia, some from politics, people who were in my administration, dissecting it.

Keynoter: What were the major accomplishments of your term as governor?

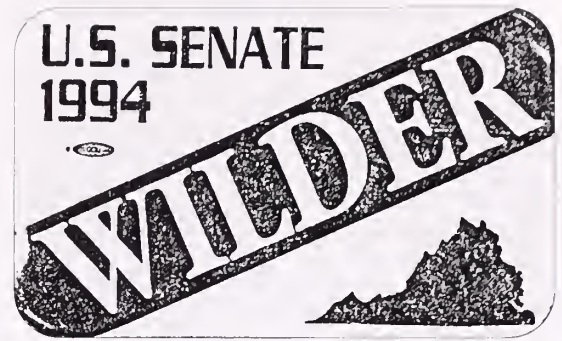
Wilder: The governor of Virginia is a powerful governor constitutionally. It enables you to do a lot of things, to have a tremendous amount of influence. I don't care how many years you had in preparation for the job, there is no substitute for being there. I learned after I got there that we were broke. I was of the impression that we had a lot of money, or at least more money than we had. That was not the case. I had to revise all of the concerns and plans I had for projects and programs that I wanted to promote to get the fiscal shape of the state in order. I look back on it now and I'm very happy that I was elected governor at that time because that's a testing time. You are not tested when you've got a lot of money to spend. And I'm not discrediting people who have had largess or good fortune. I guess what I'm saying is that the real test is how you make out with less. I had a slogan that "you don't spend for niceties, you spend for necessities." Government has that responsibility.

So I can say that I enjoyed it. We never had any curtailment of essential services and the delivery thereof. We never raised taxes one dime. We had the largest general obligation bond measure ever set forth in Virginia; \$613,000,000 – the majority of that going to capital needs and education, then mental health and retardation, outdoor recreation, and maintenance and acquisition of park space.

Those three things; the general obligation bond, not raising taxes, and the one-gun-a-month bill. That people said "you will never do it, never do it". Well, you know you tell a guy like me "never," it means nothing (laughs) cause that's all I've heard all my life. Never, never, never! But you look back on it now and you see why people were saying that. Look how hard it was to get it passed. We had a devil of a time getting it passed but we got it passed Those three things are what I consider the highlights of my administration.

Keynoter: Can you tell us about your 1994 US Senate race?

Wilder: I didn't want to do it, never did want to do it. I had other things in mind to do, had other offers. But I was disturbed with the party for not coming up with an alternative scenario. I felt Robb was weak and would not have the strong backing of the people in Virginia. If the Republicans had nominated anybody of consequence, who was not considered extreme, we would lose. I look back on it: we would have lost. I'm not saying the alternative to Ollie North was



In 1994, Governor Wilder was a candidate for the U.S. Senate in a confused four-way race that featured Democratic incumbent Charles Robb, GOP nominee Ollie North, independent Republican Marshall Coleman and independent Democratic Doug Wilder. Wilder withdrew before the election to prevent North from winning.

Jim Miller because Jim Miller was another candidate who was running. Nor am I saying it was Marshall Coleman.

Getting back to what I said to you before about the presidential race. I got into the race late, didn't raise any money as such. Running as an Independent you lose a lot of your natural support. Polls were a little off...never higher than third. But nevertheless, I could have guaranteed Robb's defeat, guaranteed it. He would not have had to go out any further and I would have been talking to you now about why I was responsible for the election of Ollie North. I just could not have that and I would not have that. After a careful assessment of where I stood, I said, "The only thing that I can do is cause the election of Oliver North." I don't want that on my conscience. I would not have that on my legacy. Phhhht... I got out.

Keynoter: Your biographers devote a lot of space to a feud between you and Chuck Robb. Is there anything to that?

Wilder: I've asked people as many times as I could, and I'm not going to get the answer. Tell me what I've ever done to Robb. [Here Wilder pointed to a cartoon about his 1982 battle against Pickett] I really think that's when it started. Because I really think that a lot of people felt that was what they would consider disloyal on my behalf, because the party had selected Pickett. Well, in my judgement, it had nothing to do with the party. It had to do with whom we were going to stand in line behind, who we were going to push for United States Senate. A guy tells you he's going to go up and be like Harry Byrd, and expects me to go around the state and campaign, fight, beg and cajole and get these people to vote. I can tell you the phone rang off the hook. Not just from minorities, but labor people, educators, you name it. They were on my case, they literally were. The best answer that I can give you: if I wanted Robb defeated, he was dead when he ran against Ollie North, and I was in the race. All I had to do was let my name stay on the ballot and Robb was dead.

Keynoter: Thank you. ★



L. Douglas Wilder during the Keynoter interview.

Governor P. B. S. Pinchback of Louisiana



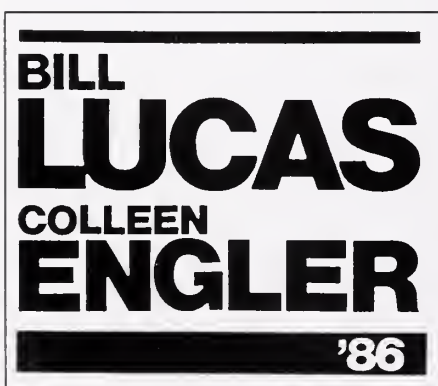
At the height of Reconstruction, there was a flowering of Black Republicans in public office. Mississippi sent two Black Republicans to the U.S. Senate and Black Republicans were elected to Congress from several states. But nowhere did the power of the newly enfranchised freedmen rise as high as Louisiana where, for a brief time, P.B.S. Pinchback sat in the governor's chair.

Louisiana, with its French heritage, had a long tradition of free blacks and many attained considerable education and economic status even before Emancipation. Pinchback had been an officer in the Union Army during the Civil War and rose quickly in the ranks of the post-war Republican Party, becoming Lieutenant Governor under Gov. Henry Clay Warmoth. When Warmoth was impeached in 1872, Pinchback became Governor. He held office for only 35 days, but ten acts of the Legislature became law during that time. Gov. Pinchback became a powerful symbol on both sides of the racial divide. After leaving office, he served on the State Board of Education and as a member of Southern University's Board of Trustees. Eventually, as Southern racial codes tightened, Pinchback and his family moved to Washington and then New York, where he was a Federal Marshal. Pickney Benton Stewart Pinchback died December 21, 1921 in Washington, DC.



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LUCAS
WINS
WE ALL
WIN**

Lucas



Bill Lucas material (clockwise from upper left): button from his successful Wayne County Executive race, button and lapel pin from race for governor, sticker boosting the role of then-VP George Bush in recruiting Lucas to the

**LUCAS
by
George!**

GOP, and sticker with his running mate for lieutenant governor, State Rep. Colleen Engler. At the time, Rep. Engler was the wife of State Senator John Engler. Four years later, John Engler would win the first of three terms as governor of Michigan.

Bill Lucas for Governor Michigan 1986

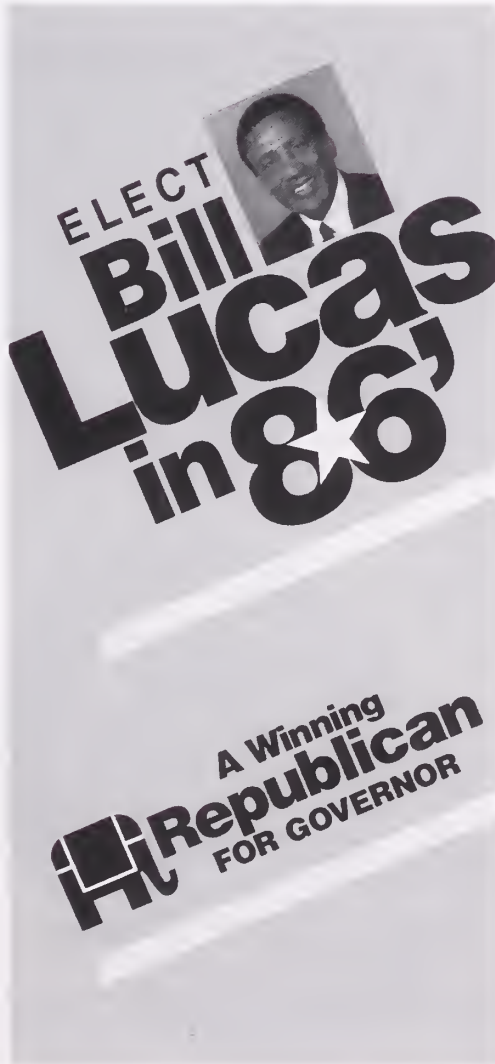
By Michael Kelly

As the 1986 elections approached, Michigan Republicans found themselves at an interesting turning point. Michigan had been a Democratic stronghold since the Fifties, when Gov. "Soapy" Williams and UAW President Walter Reuther had assembled a coalition that overthrew a Republican dominance dating back to the Civil War. But during the Reagan era, the GOP had chipped away at that coalition and managed to take control of the state senate. In 1986, Michigan Republicans took a bold gamble to sweep away that coalition. They nominated an African American for governor.

William Lucas was an extraordinary man. The orphaned son of immigrants, he grew up in New York City and earned his way through college on an athletic scholarship and then law school on his own. He joined the NYC police force, walking a beat in Harlem. On three different occasions criminals fired guns at him at point blank range, three different times the gun jammed. While serving on a security detail for then-Attorney General Robert F.



Bill Lucas, 1986 Republican nominee for governor of Michigan.



Kennedy, Lucas and Kennedy talked about the FBI. Lucas entered the rigorous FBI training and emerged an FBI agent. Assigned to Detroit, Lucas became involved in local politics and was elected Sheriff of Wayne County (Detroit) and then the first County Executive in the county's history.

Lucas had always been a social conservative. A Catholic, his own life had been marked by intense self-discipline, hard work and commitment to family. Although elected to county office as a Democrat, Lucas had always appealed to Republicans and the GOP began to court him. Vice President George Bush, former Governor George Romney, state senate majority leader John Engler and others opened the door for Lucas and encouraged him to seek the governorship as a Republican.

When Bill Lucas joined the GOP, he became the highest-ranking Black Republican in the nation. As 1986 arrived, Lucas picked Lincoln's Birthday to announce his candidacy for governor. It was not a cakewalk. He had a tough field to overcome in the Republican primary but Lucas won a solid victory over three strong opponents to win the nomination. As Election Day drew near, President Reagan flew into Detroit for a packed Lucas rally at the huge Cobo Hall. A sense of history was electric in the air. But the dream was not to be fulfilled that year. A popular incumbent, Gov. James Blanchard, was seeking his second term and Lucas wasn't able to put together a winning coalition. Blanchard easily beat Lucas, sweeping all but one county.

Today, Bill Lucas is a circuit court judge in Wayne County. Despite his general election loss, he remains the first African American gubernatorial nominee from either major party. Later California Democrats would nominate Tom Bradley and Virginia Democrats would elect Doug Wilder, but it was Bill Lucas who paved the way.★

A Small Impeachment Drama

(from *The Washington Post*, January 14, 1999)

Ten days before the House impeached him last month, President Clinton, on short notice, invited former governor L. Douglas Wilder to Washington, ostensibly to participate in a ceremony awarding a fourth star to retired Air Force Gen. Benjamin O. Davis Jr., a promotion that earlier had been denied to the 86-year-old leader of World War II's Tuskegee Airmen. But when Wilder arrived at the Old Executive Office Building's presidential hall, he quickly discovered that Clinton had something more in mind than having him, the only African American ever elected governor of a U.S. state, share in honoring the Air Force's first black general.

"The president grabbed me by the arm and took me to a corner and asked me to call" Virgil H. Goode Jr. and try to convince the conservative Democrat from Virginia's 5th District to change his mind and not join the Republicans in voting for articles of impeachment, Wilder said.

Clinton obviously remembered, or was reminded, that as a member of the Virginia Senate in 1994, Goode, with Wilder's encouragement, unsuccessfully challenged Wilder's archenemy, U.S. Sen. Charles S. Robb, in the Democratic primary.

"I didn't say I'd change his mind," Wilder said laughing. "I just promised to call him."

Goode's spokesman, Linwood Duncan, acknowledged that the congressman, one of only five Democrats to vote for impeachment, spoke to Wilder but declined to elaborate about their conversation.★

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Election**



Despite running on a ticket with President Clinton, Congressman Goode was one of the rare Democrats to vote for Impeachment. Starting on upper right: two coattail buttons with Clinton and Goode, two items from Goode's races for Virginia state senate, and an emery board from his congressional race.

Another Perspective on Virginia Politics:

A Keynoter Interview with U.S. Congressman Virgil Goode

(Interview by Richard Rector)



APIC member Virgil H. Goode, Jr. (APIC #2671) was elected to the Virginia Senate in 1973, at age 27. He served as state senator until 1996. In November of that year, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives as the Congressman from the Fifth District of Virginia and re-elected in 1998. Congressman Goode earned his BA from the University of Richmond and a JD from the University of Virginia School of Law. Known as a conservative ("Blue Dog") Democrat, Goode was one of only a handful of House Democrats voting to impeach President Clinton.

Keynoter: How long have you been collecting?

Goode: Since about 1974, right after I first ran for the State Senate. My dad had some badges that he had collected over the years in a metal container and I started getting them then. Even in 1972 I tried to get some. I went to McGovern's headquarters and Nixon's headquarters and got items. But I started subscribing to some of the publications and things in '74...I remember in the '50's when Ike was running, being at my grandfather's place. He was for Ike. My father was for Stevenson and he had given us Stevenson pins to wear. My grandfather had Ike pins and everybody at the precinct in Chesterfield County had Ike pins. I recall that, and that was in '52. That was when I was six years old. Dad saved the Stevenson pins. One of them was the "I've given my \$5.00" another was a veterans litho. Then the "America needs Stevenson." The Ikes were all variations of "I like Ike". So that was my first exposure to it.

I got some state things in the '50's and '60's. I remember in the state race in '61 my dad was always very active in it, so I would get a few things then. Stephens, Boothe and Boyd were running in the Democratic primary against

Albertis Harrison, Mills Godwin and Bob Button and I got items from that campaign.

But as a collector per se it was about 1974. Although in '72 I went to the different headquarters and got McGovern stuff. I remember I had to pay for the brown badge for McGovern. I paid \$1.00 and I thought over at Nixon's they gave you the buttons free.

Keynoter: Any special collecting interests?

Goode: I like Virginia local items and my father's collection kept with that. He saved stuff from every campaign from World War Two on. He had some pre-World War Two. He kept a file folder on it. I found a funny book, a little miniature comic book from the 1949 Republican Governor's primary. Only about ten thousand people participated in the whole statewide primary and that was an interesting thing to see.

Keynoter: Most of us have stories of a great find or a great buy. Do you have any stories?

Goode: Yes, it was a medal for Henry Clay in 1832. This guy had it in his antique shop and I would go in there. I was a typical button collector, only interested in litho and celluloid buttons and was not interested in medals. The medal was a size larger than a silver dollar. I think Sullivan cataloged it and says that there are only two known. I wrote him a letter and sent him a copy of what I had and he said that there are now three known. It's probably worth several hundred dollars. The guy forced me to take it at \$15.00. He had \$25 to \$30 on it and cut it down. So that was a good find.

I recently ran across a matching set of neckties for Davis/Bryan and Coolidge/Dawes and I had never seen them before. Have you ever seen these neckties before? They are black and white; words only, no pictures. But one has an eagle and the other, I believe a rooster. I think that's what's on it. I got that not too long ago at a flea market, but they weren't cheap. The person knew they were good political items.

Keynoter: If memory serves, your father was an elected official before you. Did he pass on any advice about politics and campaigns?

Goode: Yes, always speak to everybody. See as many people as you can and always stay and talk at the country stores.

Keynoter: Did you father tell you any anecdotes about the old Byrd machine days in Virginia?

Goode: Yes, dad's father was pro-Byrd. My grandfather and grandmother were big backers for Harry Byrd in 1925. In fact, in terms of collecting, I've got an old folded poster form Harry Byrd when he ran for governor. That just has



his picture and signature on it, but that's a pretty interesting item. They were pro-Byrd. Dad was anti-Byrd because Byrd wanted to keep the schools closed. [Byrd machine Governor J. Lindsay Almond ordered the state's schools closed in Sept 1958 rather than allow court ordered integration. In January 1959 the courts ruled that the school closings were unconstitutional and ordered the schools reopened] Those in the Magna section of Virginia wanted to keep the schools open and in '61 he supported Stephens, Boothe, and Boyd [the anti-Byrd ticket] instead of Harrison, Godwin and Button [the pro-Byrd ticket] They carried the local area but lost statewide and he always supported the Democrat even if he lost the primary.

I remember that in 1964, they got a resolution supporting the national ticket through the state convention. They were ecstatic that they were supporting Johnson and Humphrey instead of being silent as they had been for years in the past. But I think that Byrd's fiscal conservatism is needed today.

Keynoter: In 1973 you were elected to the state senate. Tell us about that campaign.

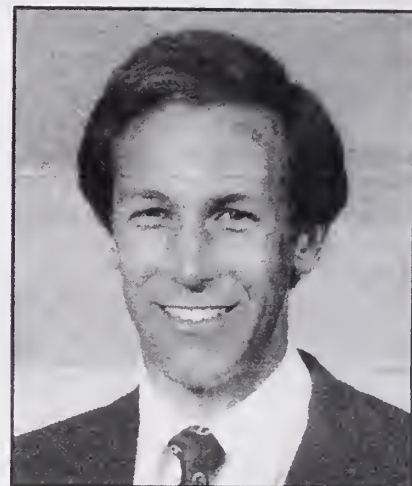
Goode: It was a six-way race. I used up a lot of shoe leather. I only had a few law cases and could do a lot of campaigning in a short period of time. It was about a sixty-day campaign, because the person in office died. So that was an advantage.

Keynoter: What were the accomplishments of your years in the state senate?

Goode: One of the things that we worked very hard for was Highway 58 funding. We got that outside of the highway allocation formula and that was a thing that those of us from Southside worked very hard to get. We were also successful in getting churches off of the business electric utility rate. I remember that was a huge fight in the late '70's and early '80's and we persevered. Because I remember, I had the bill three years running and got killed. Then in



Virgil Goode ran for the U.S. Senate in 1994, but lost the Democratic nomination to incumbent Sen. Charles Robb.



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the fourth year the Majority Leader of the House of Delegates – his secretary belonged to a small Primitive Baptist Church that got a light bill for one Sunday out of the month for a couple of hundred dollars – that switched him over to saying that churches should be on the residential rate instead of the business rate. We got that through and it was a rare victory to prevail over the utilities. I thought that was a plus.

We also got some things that helped the volunteer rescue squads and the volunteer fire departments to give them some autonomy. That was good for rural Virginia.

Keynoter: The two Virginia U.S. Senate races that Governor Wilder mentioned in his interview also effected your career. In 1982, when Owen Pickett dropped out, you entered the race. Can you tell us about that campaign?

Goode: That was a five-day campaign lengthwise. It was great! We did a direct mail to all of the delegates. The delegates were already chosen. Most of them were for Owen Pickett; some were undecided. So the delegates were already chosen to the convention and it was just going to be the nomination of Owen Pickett. Then Pickett dropped out. It was a wide-open convention. I ran. The Lt. Governor [Dick Davis] said he wasn't going to run, but he accepted a draft on the day of the convention, so he got it. On the first ballot it was the Lt. Governor first, Congressman Joe Fisher second and I was third. At one time there were probably as many as ten candidates in the race and I think seven or eight got votes.

Keynoter: You were also a candidate for US Senate in 1994. What about that campaign?

Goode: That was an enjoyable race. Chuck Robb was more liberal; I was more conservative. In the fifth district, in the rural areas we did well; I got about 2/3 of the vote. But Northern Virginia killed us and so did Tidewater. But there was a clear difference on some of the issues.

Keynoter: Governor Wilder talked about how much he wanted another candidate in 1994. I have always thought you were his choice. Am I right?

Goode: I don't know. I think Wilder had to run, to file



before the deadline. So he didn't know [who the Democratic nominee would be] but the polls showed that Robb was going to win and he got about 60%. I got about 34-35%. Two other candidates split up the rest. They didn't get much, about 5 or 6%. I don't know.

Keynoter: How are your relations with Robb today?

Goode: Cordial. We work together on issues. I think the Virginia delegation probably gets along, both Democrats and Republicans, as well as any delegation. Far better than most in the Congress. I think Senator Robb and Senator Warner, and all the members of the congressional delegation really work well together.

Keynoter: In 1996 you were elected to Congress. What is that like?

Goode: That was a long race, a lot of hard work, but it paid off. It was in the rural areas primarily and I represented a good portion of the district in the state senate so that was a big help.

Keynoter: I realize that you are a freshman member of the minority party but have you been able to make your mark on the hill?

Goode: I've tried to stand up for the fifth district. We are interested in preserving the tobacco farms, trying to get new industry to take the place of textiles. We've been hit hard by NAFTA.

Keynoter: Have you gotten any invitations to the White House?

Goode: Yes, on briefings on a few issues. They also have a Christmas Party and a summer picnic for the members of Congress and I've gotten invitations to those.

Keynoter: Any stories of your encounters with the President?

Goode: No, we took a picture with him, when I was first elected, at the White House. Everybody, it's a bi-partisan thing. They just go through a line and take a picture. You asked me about Doug Wilder. Doug and I were good friends when we were in the Senate. I was one of those that nominated him for Lt. Governor and for Governor. So we worked together, especially in the senate. As Governor he had a broader area to cover than just thinking about his senate



In 1996, Goode was elected U.S. Congressman from Virginia.

district. Governor Wilder did not propose tax increases when he was Governor. Virginia was one of only two states as I recall (and I might be off one or two) that did not raise taxes during that period of time. He had an actual decrease in revenues a couple of years when he was Governor. I think that he did well to not raise taxes, unlike most states.

Keynoter: I knew you were friends that's why I thought that perhaps you were – as Governor Wilder put it – the "Alternative Scenario" in 1994.

Goode: If I was, he never told me.

Keynoter: You were one of five Democrats that voted in favor of impeachment and you have gotten a lot of flack from the Party. How are things in the district?

Goode: Some are still mad, others said, "I think that you did right." But I would say in my district a few more favored impeachment then were opposed to it.

Keynoter: You are a member of the Blue Dog Democrats [the new conservative Democrats organization]. I have heard of a Yellow Dog Democrat but what is a Blue Dog?

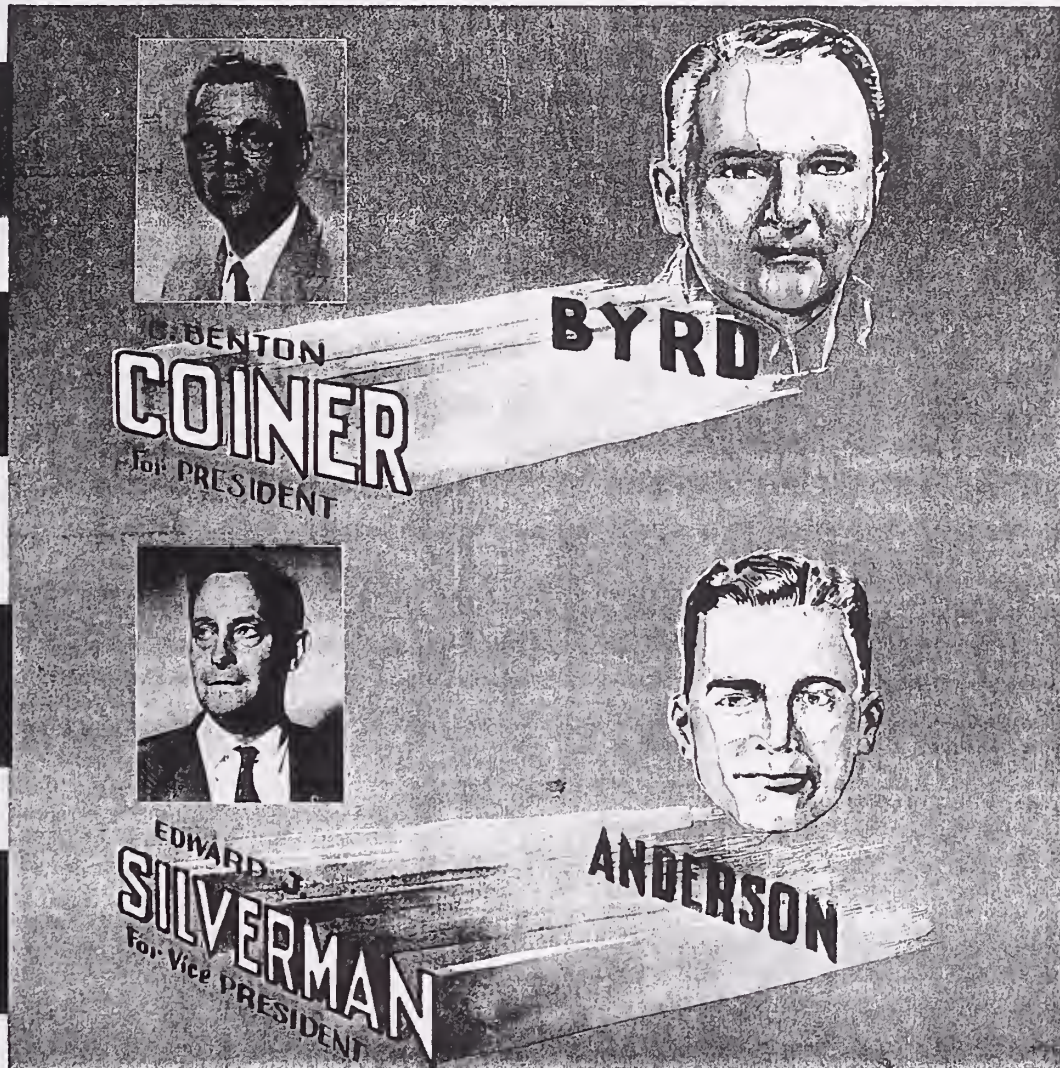
Goode: The story goes that it was a Yellow Dog that was choked until he turned blue. That's the story. (laughs) No, the Blue Dog Democrats took the mascot of George Rodrigue and he painted a blue dog. That's the reason they call it the Blue Dog Democrats.

Keynoter: Thank you very much.★



As a conservative Democrat, Congressman Goode had the distinction of appearing on coat-tail items with both Clinton and Dole. All items are shown full size except for the campaign fan, which is shown reduced.

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General Election, Tuesday, November 8, 1960

ELECTORS

Elector-at-Large
Wm. McL. Ferguson, Newport News

Elector-at-Large
J. R. Orgain, Jr., Albemarle

1st District
F. Lee Ford, Newport News

2nd District
J. Addison Hagan, Norfolk

3rd District
Henry S. Hotchkiss, Sr., Richmond

4th District
G. H. Parker, Jr., Franklin

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Edward J. Silverman
For Vice-President

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Thomas J. Anderson, of Tennessee, for
Vice-President.

ELECTORS

5th District
John W. Carter, Danville

6th District
Carl F. Ebora, Lynchburg

7th District
Thomas G. Hawpe, Waynesboro

8th District
Frank P. Moncure, Stafford

9th District
Dr. Richard O. Smith, Pulaski

10th District
H. P. Faden, Arlington

Join the Crusade of Conservative Citizens in Va.



Keep State's Rights: Harry F. Byrd for President



Richard Rector

"He was probably the most conservative member in either party of the Senate. He was as far to the right as any man could be and still remain in the bounds of sanity"

- George Reedy,
Aide to President Johnson.

Harry F. Byrd, leader of "the Byrd Machine" that dominated Virginia for a generation, was actually born in West Virginia, in the town of Martinsburg on June 10, 1887. His family moved to Winchester, Virginia shortly thereafter. Byrd entered the newspaper business in 1903, becoming the publisher of the *Winchester Star*. He started an apple farm in 1906 and produced Byrd brand apple products for the rest of his life. He began politics by serving on the Winchester City Council from 1909-10 and then was elected to the Virginia state senate where he served from 1915-25. During the First World War, Byrd was appointed as the state's Fuel Commissioner.

For a number of years, a Democratic Party political machine headed by U.S. Senator Thomas S. Martin had run the state of Virginia. It was known as either "the organization" or the "Martin Machine." Martin's death in 1919 left the organization in disarray. In 1922, Harry F. Byrd was elected as the Chairman of Virginia's Democratic Party and so began the "Byrd Machine," the longest and last political machine in Virginia.

Byrd used his position to win election as Governor in 1925. As Governor he instituted what he called his

"Program of Progress." This was a "southern fried" version of the "Good Roads, Good Government" program popular in the Midwest at that time. This entailed the building of state roads and offering tax breaks for businesses that would move to Virginia. Tempered by Byrd's "pay as you go" fiscal conservatism, the state did not go into debt to build roads, schools or other projects.

Gov. Byrd was succeeded by the first of his handpicked successors, John Pollard, in the gubernatorial election of 1929. Byrd was "retired" from office by January 1930, so the effects of the Depression on Virginia did not detract from his popularity. In a similar manner, many Americans looked back at the boom time under President Coolidge and longed for his return to power. Byrd's successful record as governor was widely report by newspapers through out the South and in some national magazines.

As the 1932 presidential campaign approached, southern leaders and newspapers began to promote Harry Byrd for President. Senator Josiah Bailey and Governor O. Max Gardner of North Carolina joined his bandwagon with Governor Gardner declaring that Byrd's chances of nomination and election were "growing brighter every day." Lt. Governor A. B. "Happy" Chandler of Kentucky stated, "It seems high time that the Democrats should turn to the Old South and to you for its nominee." [See *The Keynoter*, Fall 1992 issue for more on Chandler].

The biggest break for Byrd came when the famed New York attorney and former Assistant Secretary of War Henry Breckinridge joined his campaign staff. Breckinridge attempted to use FDR's handicap against him saying, "We need a man of moral, mental and physical power to fulfill the exacting duties of the president." However, Breckinridge left the campaign for a time to join the hunt for the kidnapped baby of his friend, Charles Lindbergh.

The 1932 Byrd campaign consisted mostly of letter writing. Byrd was reluctant to put a lot of effort into the campaign, fearing that a loss would hurt his political future. His hesitancy damaged his campaign in the South, which should have been his base. That region feared another Al Smith nomination, whose Catholicism had cost Southern Democrats some unfamiliar losses in 1928. As a consequence, there was a stampede to Roosevelt in the South. Gov. Gardner could not hold North Carolina for Byrd and Chandler had no better luck in keeping Kentucky from the Roosevelt column.

The 1932 Democratic National Convention opened in Chicago on June 21st. "For President Harry Byrd" buttons were produced for the convention and can still be found. Byrd's convention headquarters was in the Congress Hotel where he held a reception attended by General Billy Mitchell and the Governor's brother, famed Arctic explorer Admiral Richard E. Byrd. Admiral Byrd was a friend of FDR, serving as a messenger between the two camps and brought his brother the first of many VP offers from Governor Roosevelt. Also at the reception was



A vendor button from the 1960 campaign. Byrd received 15 votes in the Electoral College that year.



Byrd-related buttons. Byrd inherited Swanson's Senate seat and was supported for president by North Carolina Gov. O. Max Gardner. James H. Price was a successful anti-Byrd candidate for governor while J. Lindsay Almond was a successful pro-Byrd candidate for governor.

comedian Will Rogers, who wrote in his newspaper column: "Talked with Governor Byrd of Virginia, a very high class man, which is practically his only handicap."

The Congress Hotel was also the headquarters of the Louisiana delegation, whose delegates were being contested by former Louisiana governors Sanders, Parker and Pleasant in an effort targeted against both Roosevelt and Huey Long. Harry Byrd sided with the anti-Long faction and when Huey Long ran into Harry Byrd in the lobby of the Congress Hotel an argument ensued and Long threatened to "kill" Byrd. Sometime later, Senator Long invited Governor Byrd upstairs to his suite. Both the Governor's son, Harry, Jr., and his brother opposed his going, with the Admiral saying "Hell, you're not going; that guy's crazy. He threatened to kill you just two days ago." Byrd went anyway and at that meeting Long supposedly made Byrd another offer of the Vice Presidency if he would back Roosevelt.

When the balloting began, Byrd got 25 votes: one from Indiana and 24 from Virginia. On the second ballot he lost his Indiana delegate. On the third ballot he got 96/100's of a vote from North Carolina as well his Virginia votes. On the fourth ballot Byrd was offered the Secretary of the Navy job to support FDR. He refused. But when John Nance Garner accepted the Vice Presidency and brought the California and Texas delegations behind Roosevelt, the nomination was clinched for FDR.

Roosevelt's election and the domination of the New Deal forces in the Democratic Party ended any realistic future presidential bids by Byrd. But he nevertheless remained a factor in presidential elections. FDR named Virginia's U.S. Senator Claude A. Swanson as Secretary of the Navy, setting up a special Senate election in 1933, which was easily won by Byrd.

When he arrived in the Senate, Senator Harry Byrd found that he was assigned a seat next to Senator Huey Long. Their antagonism renewed. It got to the point that Byrd asked for a new seat "even if I have to sit on the Republican side."

By 1936 Byrd was already criticizing FDR and there was talk of a Liberty League ticket composed of Al Smith and Harry Byrd. But Byrd rejected such talk and supported President Roosevelt's reelection. In the subsequent 1937 state election, Byrd suffered his only defeat as anti-organization candidate James H. Price was elected Governor of

Virginia. Nonetheless, Byrd still controlled both houses of the legislature, so was able to prevent Price from achieving his program.

Byrd had become an outspoken critic of the New Deal by 1940. Henry Breckinridge urged him to run for president again but Byrd opted out, throwing his support behind Vice President John Nance Garner's challenge against a third term. Virginia's senior Senator Carter Glass was an even more outspoken critic of Roosevelt, despite having written most of the New Deal's banking reform legislation as Chairman of the Senate's Banking Committee. [The Glass-Steagall Act was only replaced with new legislation in 1999].

At the 1940 Democratic National Convention, Senator Glass was booed as he made the nominating speech for Jim Farley. In response, Byrd ordered that Virginia's banner not join the parade upon Roosevelt's renomination but Governor Price obtained a new Virginia banner so the Old Dominion could be represented. When Henry Wallace's name was placed in nomination for Vice President, Byrd stomped out of the hall.

In spite of all this Byrd supported the Democratic ticket in 1940. A desirable and interesting Virginia coattail pin was issued in 1940, featuring Congressman Howard W. Smith (better known as "Judge" Smith). The 7/8" blue and white button reads BYRD/ROOSEVELT/SMITH.

Judge Smith was the primary obstacle to home rule for the District of Columbia. He is alleged to have claimed that African-Americans were "too ignorant to govern them-



This large heavy cardboard badge is blue and white and is strung from a blue ribbon with a pin at the top on the back. It appears to be from the Democratic National Convention, perhaps in 1944.



Three Byrd senatorial pins. The coattail links Senator Byrd with President Roosevelt and Congressman Howard W. Smith. Smith would still be in office a quarter of a century later.

selves." His eventual defeat a quarter of a century later in the 1966 Democratic primary would help pave the way to elected government for the District of Columbia.

In the August 1943 issue of *American Magazine*, Senator Byrd authored an article entitled "Are We Losing Our Freedom?" that fueled the enthusiasm for a Byrd challenge to FDR in 1944. Southerners feared a fourth term for Roosevelt and were desperate to be rid of the New Deal. There was talk of a Southern Democratic Party with a ticket headed by Harry Byrd as well as talk of a coalition with the Republican Party and a Willkie/Byrd ticket (although it is hard to imagine the sophisticated progressive from New York running with the reactionary from Virginia).

In Florida's Democratic 1944 presidential primary, Byrd won four of the state's eighteen delegates and 45% of the vote. Texas bolted from the control of the FDR forces and South Carolina and Mississippi sent uninstructed delegations to the convention. Things were looking up for Byrd's 1944 hopes when the success of the D-Day landing ended any real chance to stop FDR. Byrd left it up to the convention delegates to vote their consciences. The southern caucus gave Byrd their endorsement anyway. Byrd was nominated by Florida delegate Mrs. Fred T. Nooney, Jr., the first woman to nominate a presidential candidate at any major party's national convention. The final vote was FDR 1,086, Byrd 89.

Byrd received all the votes of Virginia, Mississippi and Louisiana plus 12 votes from Texas and a scattering from Alabama, Florida, South Carolina and West Virginia. He also received a 1/2 a vote from the New York delegation, cast by an embittered Jim Farley.

One of his South Carolina votes had come from Dr. James McLeod, who would lose the 1946 South Carolina Democratic gubernatorial primary to Strom Thurmond. In a bit of irony, Thurmond praised FDR as the "world's greatest leader" and accused Dr. McLeod of disloyalty by voting for Byrd.

Byrd was more successful in his effort to dump Vice President Henry Wallace from the ticket and rejected efforts to draft himself as the nominee of a proposed Southern Democratic Party (an idea that would reappear four years later). Byrd then started his policy of "Golden Silence" in regards to whom he was supporting for the presidency, which was usually interpreted as meaning he supported Republican presidential candidates. However, as a future Virginia Democratic Party Chairman would say, "Telling Democrats that it's all right to vote Republican in national elections will backfire; soon they will ask why they can't do that in state elections."

In 1948 there was again talk of a Byrd presidential candidacy but twice was enough for Byrd. When the southern delegates at the Democratic National Convention walked out over the Civil Rights plank, they reconvened in

Birmingham, Alabama to form a Southern Democratic Party. Dubbed the States Rights Democratic Party (or "Dixiecrats"), the party nominated South Carolina Governor Strom Thurmond for president and Mississippi Governor Fielding Wright for VP.

But in Virginia, Byrd feared a growing anti-Byrd movement and thought that a party split might lead to a victory by his opponents in the 1949 gubernatorial election. So, rather than support Thurmond, he again maintained a "Golden Silence."

As a reaction to the 1948 Dixiecrat bolt, the 1952 Democratic Convention debated a loyalty oath to be taken by delegates, pledging to support the eventual nominee. Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia joined in an effort to defeat the rule. As Harry Byrd explained it: "Our strategy is not to communicate with the credentials committee, just remain in our seats and let them be the aggressors and let them read us out of the convention or throw us out bodily if they will." After a vigorous challenge, Senator Russell Long of Louisiana (Huey's son) managed to get the three state delegations seated without the oath. The support of the South finally swung the nomination to moderate Adlai Stevenson over Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, whose strong support for civil rights doomed him with Southerners as a "turncoat."

Byrd had always supported segregation. Following the Brown vs. Board of Education Supreme Court decision in 1954, he instituted the policy of "Massive Resistance." Byrd Machine Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. ordered the state's schools closed rather than comply with court ordered



integration and the state legislature followed suit by repealing compulsory attendance laws. As a member of the United States Senate, Harry Byrd was one of the leaders behind the "Southern Manifesto," which called on southern senators to sign an oath to oppose any civil rights bill.

1956 was a confusing year for advocates of states rights. Virginian T. Coleman Andrews had been appointed by President Eisenhower as the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service but eventually resigned, vowing to try to abolish the agency. A political cartoon printed with this article features Byrd as the Sphinx out in his apple orchard, maintaining his "Golden Silence." That cartoon pictures presidential hopeful Andrews on a par with Eisenhower and Stevenson, a view held by few beyond the states rights faithful.

Andrews and running mate, California Congressman Thomas Harold Werdel, appeared on several state ballots but won no electoral votes. Harry Byrd's name was actually on the ballot in Kentucky, although he did nothing to encourage the effort. Four Southern states had slates of states' rights unpledged electors on the ballot: Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Louisiana. The slates in Mississippi and South Carolina announced their intention to vote for Byrd if elected. The slates in Louisiana and Alabama announced they would support Andrews and Werdel. Although no unpledged electors won in 1956, several ran well, as in South Carolina where they pushed Eisenhower into third place.

Stories on the closeness of the 1960 presidential race usually overlook Harry Byrd's 15 electoral votes. The Democratic parties of Mississippi and Alabama ran uninstructed electors in 1960 rather than support the Kennedy/Johnson ticket. The unpledged slates won and some claim that the White House called Sen. Byrd election night to request that he withhold his electors in the hope that it would throw the election to Nixon. Virginia itself voted for Nixon and the Byrd machine is said to have issued the 1" litho "Virginia Democrats - Nixon/Lodge" button.



More Byrd-related buttons. Three buttons from the 1956 campaign of Coleman Andrews and Thomas Werdel; a 1960 "Virginia Democrats" Nixon button; a 1964 cross-party coattail button boosting Republican Goldwater for president and Democrat Byrd for senate; and a 1976 button boosting Tom Anderson of the American Party.

Sphinx Under The Apple Tree



When the Electoral College voted, Harry Byrd received eight votes from Mississippi, six from Alabama and one from Oklahoma. 14 vice presidential votes went to Strom Thurmond and the Oklahoma elector cast his for Barry Goldwater.

An interesting poster from 1960 states that if you vote the Conservative Party of Virginia's ticket of C. Benton Coiner for President and Edward J. Silverman for Vice President, their presidential electors would actually vote for Harry F. Byrd for President and Tom Anderson for Vice President. [Tom Anderson would later reappear nominated for Vice President in 1972 by the American Independent Party and for President in 1976 by the American Party].

In 1964 it was expected that Byrd would back Barry Goldwater and some "Goldwater and Byrd" coattail pins were even produced, but Lt. Governor Mills Godwin was sent to join LBJ's train as it passed through Virginia and the state party was allowed to pass a resolution endorsing President Johnson. It has been claimed that LBJ called Byrd into the White House and threatened to close the naval bases in Norfolk and Hampton Roads if he didn't get the support of the Byrd organization.

Byrd was easily reelected in 1964 against a field of six opponents. He resigned due to poor health on November 10, 1965 and died October 20, 1966. His replacement had a familiar name: it was his son, Harry F. Byrd, Jr., who held the seat until his retirement in 1983. Interestingly, threatened with possible defeat in the 1970 Democratic primary, Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., successfully ran as an independent and won re-election as an independent again in 1976 before retiring.★

Two New 'Equality' Buttons Appear

By Michael Kelly

One of the most popular series of buttons in political Americana is the Theodore Roosevelt "Equality" buttons. Selling for several thousand dollars when they make a rare appearance in the marketplace, the buttons reflect an event from 1901 when President Theodore Roosevelt invited prominent African-American educator Booker T. Washington to a mid-day meal at the White House. For fuller details, see Dr. Roger Fischer's article "Teddy and Equality" in the Summer 1981 *Keynoter* and this author's article "A Second Look at the Equality Buttons" in the Fall 1990 *Keynoter*. A political cartoon referring to the dinner also appears in the "Uncle Hank Goes to Washington" article in the Winter 1994 *Keynoter*.

As those articles explain, the dinner invitation outraged the strict racial etiquette of the segregationist South and TR was harshly attacked for this breach of the era's racial code. However, the dinner inspired positive comment as well. A Chicago Republican named Charles Thomas produced a handsome print picturing President Roosevelt and Dr. Washington seated together at a food-laden table above the legend "Equality."

That print was turned into a button which soon appeared on the lapels of Black Republicans and others across the North. A second version of the button appeared in the border states with a different agenda. As TR himself wrote, "These campaign buttons were distributed by the Democratic Committees not merely in Tennessee but in Maryland, in southern Indiana, in West Virginia, in Kentucky, and elsewhere where it was believed that they could do damage to the Republican cause, and especially to me. The Tennessee Republican leaders were hurt materially by the use of this button, and it was one of the disreputable campaign tricks which they had to meet and try to overcome."

A newspaper of the time described it this way, "Several months ago a button appeared showing the President and a negro dining together. It was labeled 'Equality' and was calculated to make Roosevelt unpopular among people to



The newly discovered Equality button (shown enlarged).

whom the race question is a live issue...Senator Gorman, a Democratic aspirant for the presidency, is said to have had a hand in circulating the button, believing it would harm the President seriously in the southern states."

The second version (which exists in at least two varieties) differed from the original in several respects. While TR was still there, the portrait of Dr. Washington had changed. No longer is it an accurate picture of the educator. Instead the black man is larger, darker and thicker haired, seated in front of the table instead of behind it, and drinking whiskey. These changes were designed to inflame the delicate sensibilities of white racists and temperance advocates.

Dating back to Dr. Fischer's 1981 article, observers have been aware that yet a third version of the "Equality" button had been created, although the hobby hadn't actually seen a copy. As a newspaper of the era reported, "The other 'Equality' button is based on the same idea, but differently applied. It shows President Roosevelt leading a colored regiment up the hill at San Juan."

For many years collectors wondered at this the third version of the "Equality" button. In 1998, it surfaced for the first time in an auction run by Theodore Hake (APIC # 292). Hake's auction featured not one, but two versions of the military "Equality" button. The 1 1/2" button exists in both a full color and a black on sepia variety. Topped by the "Equality" legend, it carries the additional legend "San Juan Hill, July 2 '98." This points out that when Colonel Theodore Roosevelt led his famous "Rough Riders" up San Juan Hill, they were backed by the black soldiers of the 9th and 10th cavalry units.

This fact is reflected in the decommissioning ceremony of the "Rough Riders" as described by historian Stefan Lorant in his book *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*; "The Rough Riders cheered, and the men who stood behind them watching the ceremony cheered too; they



The San Juan Equality button exists in two versions. One is multi-colored and the other, black and gray on cream. Both versions appeared for the first time in a 1998 Ted Hake auction.



The original Equality button based on the print by Charles Thomas. It shows Washington on the left with him and TR seated behind the table.



The later versions of the Equality button no longer show Dr. Booker T. Washington. Instead, they picture a generic black man, darker skinned and thicker haired. Note that the Negro is now seated in front of the table on the right and is drinking whiskey. These changes helped to offend white supremacists.

belonged to the 9th and 10th Colored Cavalry regiments. Recognizing them, Roosevelt complimented the colored men on their heroism. He recalled, 'The Spaniards called them 'smoked Yankees' but we found them to be an excellent breed of Yankee.'

It is one of the recurring pleasures of this hobby that scholarship and collecting work together to reveal the past more clearly. Just as the calculations of astronomers revealed planets before telescopes could see them, the research of political Americana's scholars reveal material before it is found. Then the industry of collectors sifting through auctions, estate sales, flea markets, antique stores and garage sales brings the material to where it can be seen and noted. The discovery of these new "Equality" buttons shows the historical value of our hobby in a clear light.★



Booker T. Washington was founder of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. This button is from a visit to the Black college by President Roosevelt. It is 1-1/4" and reads "Tuskegee Institute October 24, 1905."

Senator Arthur P. Gorman of Maryland



SENATOR A. P. GORMAN.



At the time, the anti-TR versions of the Equality button were rumored to have come from Maryland Senator Arthur P. Gorman, a Democratic presidential hopeful. President Roosevelt noted that the buttons appeared in Maryland as well as other border states and a newspaper reported, "Senator Gorman, a Democratic aspirant for the presidency, is said to have had a hand in circulating the button."

In 1904, Gorman was the chairman of the Democratic Caucus in the U.S. Senate. Born in Woodstock, Howard County, Maryland on March 11, 1839, he began his political career at an early age. Appointed a page in the U.S. House in 1852, Gorman later transferred to the Senate through the influence of Stephen A. Douglas, who made him his private secretary. Eventually rising to be Senate Postmaster, Gorman returned to Maryland as collector of internal revenue for the fifth district of Maryland. Gorman became president of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company and served in the state House of Delegates from 1869 to 1875, serving as speaker for one session. He was a member of the state senate from 1875 to 1881. Elected U.S. Senator in 1880, Gorman remained in the Senate until 1899, serving as chairman of the Democratic caucus from 1890 to 1898. Defeated for re-election in 1898, he won a Senate seat again in 1902 and was again caucus chairman from 1903 until his death in 1906. The pictured button is from a gubernatorial race.★



Equality 1921: Oscar De Priest and Herbert Hoover

By Michael Kelly



On November 6, 1928, Oscar De Priest became the first African American to win a seat in the US House of Representatives in the twentieth century. It had been nearly thirty years since the last black Congressman – Rep. George White (R-North Carolina) – had left office. A Republican from Chicago, De Priest was also the first black congressman elected from the North. All of his predecessors had been elected from the South before the end of Reconstruction had all but eliminated black voting rights in the Old Confederacy.

During his three terms (1928-1935), he was the only black representative in Congress and newspapers (both white and black) often referred to him simply as “the Negro Congressman” as if he represented American Negroes rather than the first district of Illinois. Certainly, De Priest was fully aware of his particular role during a time of brutal and widely accepted discrimination.

De Priest introduced several anti-discrimination bills. His 1933 amendment barring discrimination in the Civilian Conservation Corps was passed by the Senate and signed into law by President Hoover. His anti-lynching bill failed, even though it was moderate in tone and did not even make lynching a federal crime. A third De Priest proposal – a bill to permit a transfer of jurisdiction if a defendant believed

he or she could not get a fair trial because of race or religion – would be passed by another Congress in another era.

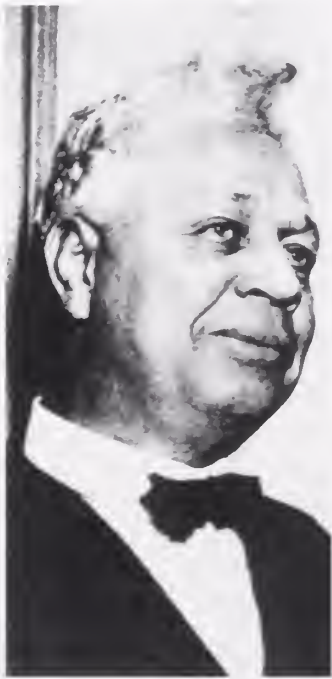
Civil rights activists criticized De Priest for opposing federal aid to the needy, but they applauded him for speaking in the South despite death threats. They also praised De Priest for telling an Alabama senator he was not big enough to prevent him from dining in the Senate restaurant and for defending the right of Howard University students to eat in the House restaurant. De Priest took the House restaurant issue to a special bipartisan House committee. In a heated debate that lasted three months, the Republican minority argued that the restaurant’s discriminatory practice violated 14th Amendment rights to equal access. The Democratic majority skirted the issue by claiming that the restaurant was not open to the public. The House restaurant remained segregated.

On the same day that De Priest was elected to Congress, Herbert Hoover won a landslide victory over Al Smith to win the White House. Smith’s Catholicism and New York City roots shook the Democratic Party’s base in the Solid South and Hoover became the first Republican to penetrate the Old Confederacy. He carried five bedrock Democratic states: Texas, Florida, Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina. This gave President Hoover a desire to revitalize the moribund Republican organization in the South. But, before he could seriously advance that agenda, he had “a delicate predicament” to handle on the social front.

Washington society had not faced the issue of a Negro congressman since 1901 (the year of the TR/Washington Equality dinner). In the intervening years, the rules of social segregation had, if anything, grown even more rigid. In the South, the Democratic Party had become legally a whites-only club, with most state Democratic primaries limited to white voters. While there remained areas of strong support for racial equality – mainly among New England Republicans in the legacy of Charles Sumner – the nation as a whole was indifferent to the status of Negroes as second class citizens.

It was a White House tradition for the First Lady to host a tea for the wives of senators and congressmen and Mrs. Lou Henry Hoover was expected to maintain that tradition. She assumed that the wife of Congressman De Priest would attend along with all the other congressional wives but she soon found that things were not quite so simple. In various polite ways, she was warned that the wives of Southern legislators would refuse to have tea with Mrs. De Priest and that a potential political furor was brewing.

As is so often the case in politics, there was more to this situation than tea party etiquette. Southern Democrats were concerned about Republican inroads in 1928 and had been grasping for a stick with which to beat President Hoover’s Southern supporters. With shades of President Theodore Roosevelt’s 1901 “Equality” dinner with Booker T. Washington in mind, Southern politicians jumped on “The De Priest Incident.”



Congressman Oscar De Priest. Above are two litho buttons from his campaigns in Chicago. Left: brown and white congressional. Right: RWB committeeman pin. Note that Congressman De Priest used the slogan “America First” and a half century later Gov. Doug Wilder used the slogan “Put America First” in his presidential race.

The Hoovers were not racists and never considered not inviting Mrs. De Priest. They did, however, attempt to defuse the situation and avoid embarrassment to anyone by restructuring the traditional tea. Rather than one large tea party, Mrs. Hoover held five events, inviting the congressional wives in smaller groups. Mrs. De Priest was included with other congressional wives who were known to be sympathetic to black rights and who would have no objection to sharing a cup of tea with a woman of color.

"This, of course, made no difference to anti-Hoover critics," wrote David S. Day in the *Journal of Negro History*. "They still interpreted the affair as a threat to white supremacy...One self-styled 'Hoover Democrat,' for example, condemned the invitation to Mrs. De Priest as a move toward social equality for blacks and insisted that Hoover's wife had brought about his downfall." U.S. Senator Morris Sheppard (D-Texas) claimed that the White House tea party was "a step fraught with infinite danger to our white civilization."

Reaction spread across the South. Citizens in Dallas founded an Anti-Tea Society with the avowed purpose of eliminating tea drinking. State legislatures across the South began passing resolutions of protest. The Georgia legislature expressed deep regret over "the recent occurrences [sic] in the official and social life of the capital which have a tendency to revive and intensify racial discord." The Texas legislature passed a resolution condemning Mrs. Hoover and those who had voted for her husband.

In Washington, Senator Coleman Blease (D-South Carolina) presented a Senate resolution condemning the Hoover administration's racial policies, alluding to the "White House" as a symbol of Caucasian dominance and warning of the "racial peril" brought on by the tea party. Senator Blease's language was vitriolic, to the point of submitting a crude poem titled "Nigger in the White House"



Mrs. De Priest

for printing in *The Congressional Record*. When Senator Hiram Bingham, (R-Connecticut) objected, Blease withdrew the poem, although he emphasized that he was doing so as a senatorial courtesy and "not because it may give offense to the niggers."

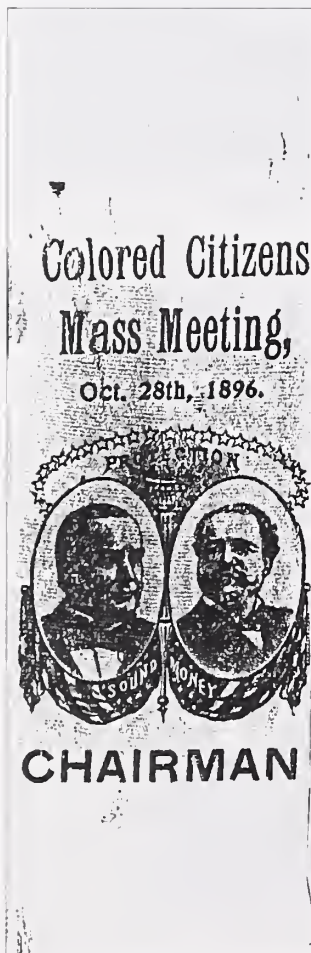
Congressman De Priest recognized the opportunity presented by the furor. On the issue of the tea party, he took the high road. He wife, he stated, "was invited not only because she was white or black, Republican or Democrat. She was invited because she happened to be the wife of a man who was a member of Congress." On the attacks, however, he had a different view. His Southern detractors were "a lot of cowards" and would "drive all the colored voters back into the Republican Party."

One of the political maxims De Priest lived by was "a man is a fool who has power and does not use it." This was an opportunity to raise funds for the NAACP. Mrs. Hoover's tea with Mrs. De Priest had been on June 12. On June 16, Congressman De Priest announced that he would sponsor a "musical and reception" on behalf of the NAACP on June 21. The announcement was front-page news across America. Southern racists cited it as proof that Hoover had stirred black assertiveness and, indeed, De Priest used the musicale as an opportunity to call for "legal equality." Soon thereafter, he stated that he would insist on exercising the full prerogatives of his office and would vote no funds for prohibition enforcement until the other amendments to the Constitution (such as voting rights) were adequately enforced.



What impact "The De Priest Incident" may have had on American politics will never be known, as it was soon swept aside by the social tidal wave of the Great Depression. African American voters stopped identifying themselves by their history and began identifying themselves by their current economic needs, beginning a shift to the Democratic Party that wouldn't really be completed until 1964.

Oscar De Priest was re-elected to Congress in 1930 and 1932. He lost his congressional seat in 1934 to black Democrat Arthur Mitchell, and returned to the real estate business. He sought his seat again in 1936 but the FDR landslide made sure that no Republican would represent inner city Chicago that year. Before becoming a U.S. Representative, De Priest had been the first African American to serve on the city council of Chicago, elected from the Second Ward in 1915. He also served as Cook County Commissioner, Assistant Illinois Commerce Commissioner, and was three times delegate to the Republican National Convention. After Congress, De Priest served one additional term on the Chicago City Council from 1943 to 1947. Oscar Stanton De Priest had been born on March 9, 1871 in Florence, Alabama and died May 12, 1951 in Chicago, Illinois.★



The move of African Americans from the Republicans to the Democrats didn't gain momentum until the Great Depression and black votes went to both parties for many decades. It wasn't until 1948 that the Democrats took a strong civil rights stance and President Eisenhower won a majority of black votes in 1956 in the aftermath of his intervention in Little Rock. It was the 1964 Goldwater campaign that finally completed the break. Next page: a variety of "colored Republican" material. The Watts button is from the current chair of the U.S. House Republican Conference, Rep. J.C. Watts (R-OK) and the photo shows Warren Harding meeting with black leaders in 1920.




**CUYAHOGA
COUNTY
Colored Delegation**
SOLID FOR
**GARFIELD
AND
ARTHUR**

WATTS
CONGRESS

**WILLING
WORKERS
TAFT
COLORED
CLUB**



**JOE LOUIS
FOR WILLKIE**

**WIN WITH
LANDON
AND
KNOX
NEW JERSEY
CONFERENCE
OF
COLORED
REPUBLICANS**

REMEMBER YOUR REAL FRIENDS!




**WHAT HAS
WENDELL L. WILLKIE
TO SAY TO
THE COLORED PEOPLE
OF AMERICA**

Page 15



**VOTE FOR
DEWEY**



KILL THE KLAN

1999 APIC INTERN REPORT

By Elizabeth Eckstein

Throughout my education I have accumulated a solid background in history. I have been challenged by excellent, demanding professors. However, Doris Lessing reminds us, "That is what learning is. You suddenly understand you've understood all your life, but in a new way" (*The Four-Gated City*). This accurately describes my internship experience and my summer in general. Researching what I already know, but using a slightly different perspective or a different medium, brings to light new aspects of a problem, an event, an object, or a person. I have seen how much more there is to know about a single subject. This internship has allowed me extensive opportunities to examine these new angles through research, but also through the collections in the National Museum of American History, through the other Smithsonian museums, and in my experiences in the energetic, full city of D.C. This summer, I have steeped myself in history and the experience of history.

Working under Larry Bird, I have been writing annotated bibliographies for several "Objects of National Significance" in the Political History collection. A few of the objects I have researched include: the Jefferson Writing Desk, on which the Declaration of Independence was drafted; the Teddy bear; the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Fireside Chat microphones; and the chairs used in the first presidential debate between Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy. I searched for varying perspectives on the subjects in order to create a diverse and well-rounded basis of information for people who are eager to learn more about each object. For example, the teddy bear can be understood and studied in several ways. It was and continues to be a popular children's toy and collectible item. Due to the cartoons of Clifford Berryman, it also served as a political symbol for Roosevelt during his 1904 campaign and second term, one which deepened and domesticated his complex image of Rough Rider and conservationist. The Jefferson

Writing Desk is certainly understood in terms of its relation to the Declaration of Independence, but can also be studied as an example of Jefferson's role as an inventor and designer. Additionally, since the desk was built by Jefferson's slave, John Hemmings, it can be viewed in terms of Jefferson's views on race and slavery. The internship also has given me the opportunity to vary the mediums of my research. I looked through books and articles, hunting for varied perspectives on these topics, but I have also explored the world wide web and seen text, sound, and images combine to enhance these histories. I am a particular fan of the comprehensive and convenient on-line library catalogues. Throughout my time at the Smithsonian, I have had access to materials beyond those in the display cases of the museum. I won't soon forget experiences like holding one of FDR's fireside chat microphones or being close enough to see the grain in the wood of the Appomattox Courthouse furniture. History has been literally at my fingertips.

In addition to my own research, I found a world of information and education within the Smithsonian institution. I made a pledge to myself to see an exhibit every day of my internship. I saw a compelling exhibit on the Nixon years in photographs. I struggled, unsuccessfully, to learn the foreign currency exchange from the interactive Information Age exhibit. And these are only within the walls of the American History Museum. It is an overpowering realization that so much knowledge and beauty and opportunity is crowded along the Mall. I have visited other Smithsonian museums as well. I couldn't resist seeing the Hope diamond, though a fellow Metrobus patron warned me not to expect anything like that from my boyfriend. I have wandered the Hirshhorn and the National Gallery often. What a different way to expe-



Right: APIC Intern Elizabeth Eckstein holds the NBC microphone used by President Franklin Roosevelt (above) in his "fireside chats."





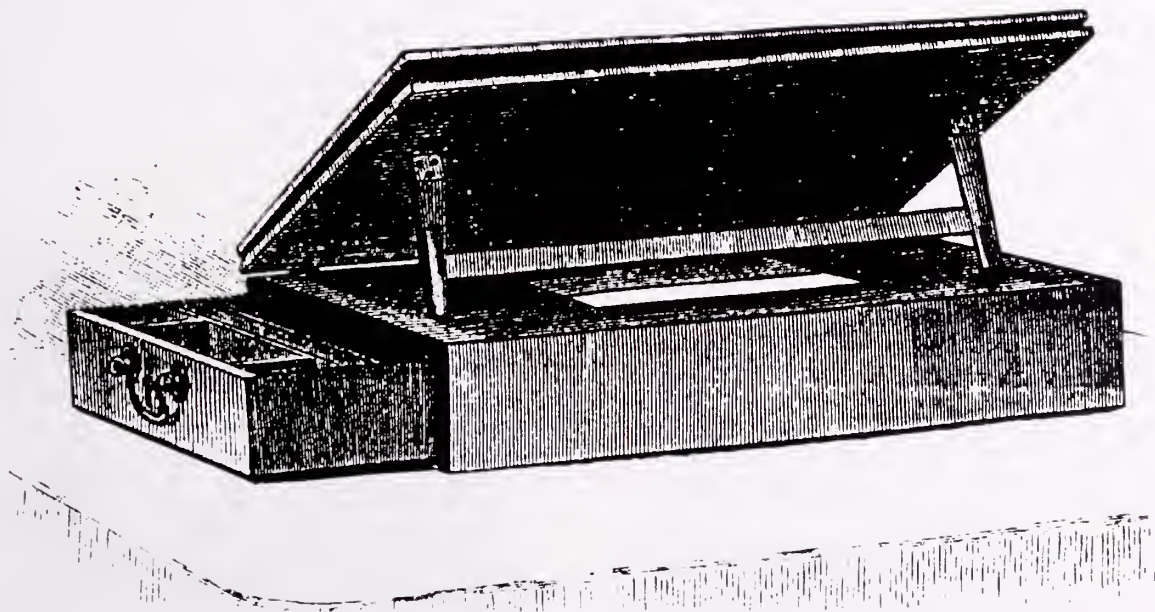
Portrait Gallery exhibit. But I felt the emotion and power of history most, perhaps, when I visited the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Monument. The memorial contains a palpable impression of FDR's leadership, his magnetic personality, and his active, personal relationship with the American people, as were conveyed through his radio deliveries.

I have had an amazing summer in large part because of the learning opportunities that surround me in this city. I met and interacted with enthusiastic, intelligent people here at the Smithsonian, and all over the area. I divided my time between the rich resources of the National Museum of American History and the Library of Congress. I wore flip-flops to work; discussed modern art with the security

guard at the Hirshhorn; cheered for the Orioles; and navigated the metro system (rail and bus). D.C. is a treasure chest of information for those who seek it. I seized these chances to grow and learned through my research, through the museums I explored, and through the people with whom I shared this knowledge and experience. I learned to reexamine a question or a subject from various, and at times unexpected angles, broadening the scope of my understanding. My internship has given me the fascinating opportunity to relate the information my brain collects to the experiences around me, and it has been a truly multifaceted education. ★

rience events and personalities! The Mary Cassatt exhibit gave me a new perspective on American expatriots, as well as showing me a personal struggle for a woman's right to work and to express herself openly.

My exhibit-a-day pledge took me off the Mall, outside of the Smithsonian, as well. Again, each of these trips allowed me to see my world, my country, and often, its history in a new light. I received a brief lesson in cinematic history watching *King Kong*, *Wizard of Oz*, *Casablanca*, and *Rebel Without a Cause* on a blanket near the Washington Monument. I toured the FBI, the Pentagon, and the National Geographic Exhibition Hall. I re-examined Ernest Hemingway, his life, motivations, and work, in a National

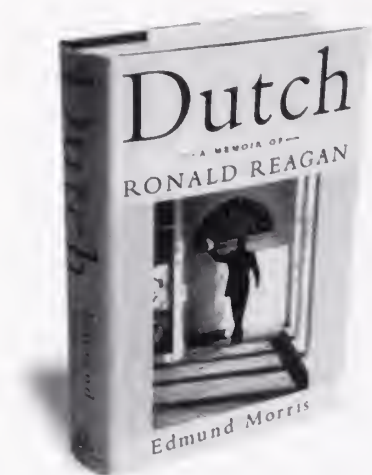


APIC Intern Eckstein's work included research on the chairs used in the 1960 debates between Kennedy and Nixon (top of page) as well as the Jefferson Writing Desk (bottom of page) on which Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence.

Edmund Morris' unorthodox methods succeed in revealing Ronald Reagan.

Book review by Michael Kelly

Dutch by Edmund Morris. 1999 Random House, New York. Available at almost every bookstore or book sales website. For more information see the Random House website: www.atrandom.com.



Perhaps no major political biography in the last quarter century has drawn such attention and controversy as has Edmund Morris' authorized biography of President Ronald Reagan, entitled *Dutch* after his boyhood nickname. Years ago, when I heard that Reagan (while still in office) had picked Morris as his official biographer, I anticipated that something special could be ahead. First, no historian had ever been designated official biographer while an administration was still under full steam. Second, Morris was to remain an independent agent, unlike historians such as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. who played active partisan roles in the administrations they would later document. Third, Edmund Morris had already written what was arguably the finest political biography of an American president ever written. His first (and to date only other) book, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, won both the Pulitzer Prize and the American Book Award.

When *Dutch* finally arrived last year, it inspired an immediate and vociferous response. Inevitably, any political biography runs into ideological and political opposition from those whose agendas or memories disagree with those of the author, but *Dutch* ran into a firestorm. What Edmund Morris had done was to violate the cardinal rule of historical writing; he invented material. It wasn't a matter of trying to pass off fabrication as research; Morris was completely frank about what he had done.

Morris had a unique dilemma. Although he had been granted regular contact with President Reagan and had often accompanied him at key times (such as some of the summits with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev), he remained stymied by the impenetrable nature of Ronald Reagan's character. It was a fact of Reagan's personality that his closest aides, his oldest friends, even his children never succeeded in reaching a point where they felt they truly knew him. How did this man of seemingly average intelligence have a magical career (popular broadcaster, movie star, twice elected governor of America's largest state and two landslide presidential victories) and reshape the face of history by bringing the Cold War to a successful conclusion? What drove him? What did he think in the quiet of his soul?

The ultimate paradox of Ronald Reagan is that he lived the most public of lives – from the heavily publicized world of motion pictures to the even more intensely scrutinized world of national politics – while remaining essentially unknown.

One can sympathize with Morris, and his frustration is evident throughout the book. He tries dozens of techniques to capture Reagan. One moment he is quoting old letters, the next imagining the shooting script of a documentary, then creating dialogue from a scene that may never have occurred. It is unlike anything one would expect to find in

a serious historical work. In fact, Morris doesn't call *Dutch* a biography. It is billed as "a memoir of Ronald Reagan." The memories don't belong to Ronald Reagan, however; they belong to Edmund Morris. But one must note that Morris wasn't really there for much of what he seems to be remembering.

What Edmund Morris has done is to create a character – based on himself, despite his being far younger than Reagan and having been born in Kenya, a world away from Reagan's small town in central Illinois – who lived a parallel life with Reagan. The character is even portrayed as being saved from drowning one summer in Dixon, Illinois by the town's lifeguard, "Dutch" Reagan.

But we don't have some sort of Hunter Thompson fantasy here. Nor does the author invent words and events for real people. Each word and event of actual historical figures is extensively documented. What Morris does is create what amounts to a Greek chorus to comment on Reagan at each step of his life. It is an unusual strategy in pursuit of an unusual man.

We see Reagan's flaws and faults; we see his mistakes and shortcomings. But we also see the triumph of a figure whose historical value to this nation is so fundamental that it will take traditional historians a generation to digest and understand it. In the end, we have to ask whether Morris was successful in revealing Ronald Reagan. The answer is yes.

There is no shortage of traditional biographies of Ronald Reagan. Those who prefer a more orthodox approach will have no trouble finding several worthwhile books to read. Much that is of key interest to readers of *The Keynoter* (such as election campaigns) is passed over in a few sentences. But for those who hope to catch a glimpse of the life force that was Ronald Reagan, even as that force fades away in the long farewell of Alzheimer's disease, I recommend Edmund Morris' *Dutch* as the closest we will ever get. ★



President Ronald Reagan and historian Edmund Morris.

1999 APIC FINANCIAL STATEMENT

January 1, 1999 Opening Balances:

Checking Account	\$ 23,326.89
Convention Fund	10,344.93
Emergency Fund	5,147.72
Money Market	3,408.45
Growth Fund	4,217.18

\$ 46,445.17

1999 Income:

1st Class Postage	\$ 2,770.00
1st Class Postage 2000	1,565.00
1st Class Postage 2001	315.00
Book Club Income	22.19
Donations	410.00
Family Dues	730.00
Family Dues 2000	255.00
Family Dues 2001	60.00

Growth Fund:

Donation Income 99	1,156.00
Donation Income 2000	1,385.00
Interest	131.24
Interest Income	417.64
Mailing Labels Inc	643.70
MSS Income	2,171.21
National Convention Income	3,333.33
Regular Dues	52,840.00
Regular Dues 2000	24,837.00
Regular Dues 2001	3,030.00
Youth Dues	280.00
Youth Dues 2000	70.00
Youth Dues 2001	20.00

\$ 96,442.31 \$ 96,442.31

\$ 142,887.48

1999 Program Expenses (see below):

Keynoter:	\$ 23,013.80
Roster/Membership:	13,003.11
Renewals:	7,959.90
Newsletters:	20,818.13

Total \$ 64,794.94

1999 Non-Program Expenses:

APIC Election	\$ 2,197.55
Bank Charges	66.00
Computer Exp	844.93
Insurance	2,196.00
Mailing Sup Svc	1,067.49
Miscellaneous Exp	311.00
National Convention	1,798.02
Office Exp	1,771.34
Postage Exp	1,728.32
President's Exp	420.44
Printing Exp	602.83
Secretary Comp	16,230.00
Sec Exp: Gas Mileage	1,773.14
Storage Exp	1,335.00
Telephone Exp	2,052.87

\$ 34,394.93

Total Expenses \$ 99,189.87 \$ 99,189.87

December 31, 1998 Closing Balances:

Checking Account	\$ 21,734.42
Convention Fund	10,048.37
Emergency Fund	5,015.95
Money Market	1,394.45
Growth Fund	5,504.42

Total \$ 43,697.61 \$ 43,697.61

\$ 142,887.48

PROGRAM EXPENSES:

KEYNOTER:

Editor Comp	\$ 1,000.00
Mailing	1,586.00
Postage	6,794.30
Printing	13,633.50

Total \$ 23,013.80

ROSTER:

Mailing Exp	\$ 545.53
Postage	1,692.59
Printing	8,056.99
Roster Update	2,708.00

Total \$ 13,003.11

RENEWALS:

Mailing	\$ 475.00
Printing	7,173.65
Reminder Postage	242.50
Reminder Printing	68.75

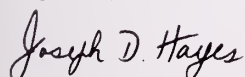
Total \$ 7,959.90

NEWSLETTERS:

Editor Exp	\$ 688.23
1st Class/Other	2,444.26
Newsletters	17,685.64

Total \$ 20,818.13

Respectfully Submitted,

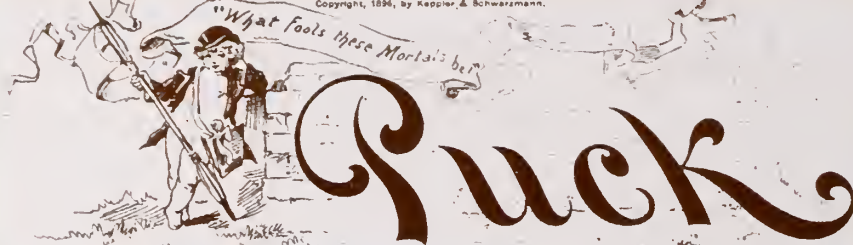


Joseph D. Hayes
Secretary/Treasurer

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